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Journal or Narrative of a Conspiracy

Journal ou Dictation d'une Conspiration



# Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763



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## Preface

The Pontiac Manuscript, or journal, has for years been considered the most important document in existence containing an account of the conspiracy of the Ottawa chief. It has twice been translated and is the foundation of various novels and dramas picturing the times of the French and Indian war. It is the document upon which Francis Parkman so cleverly built his history of the events of 1763. Its history so far as known has been related by Parkman and by others, and many conjectures have been made regarding its authorship. That it was originally the work of a Frenchman is evident throughout. The apparent anxiety to place the French in a favorable light, to explain their difficult position and justify their actions could only have been expressed by a Frenchman. His knowledge of the happenings within and without the fort, his familiarity with the motives and actions of Pontiac, is sufficient proof that he was a Frenchman of influence both with the Indians and the English. His description of the minute details attending Pontiac's councils makes it impossible to doubt the author's presence on those occasions.

The manuscript was thought to have been written by the assistant priest of Ste. Anne's Church, and the fact that the manuscript was at one time owned by Father Gabriel Richard, the priest who was in charge of the same church from 1798-1832, adds color to this conjecture. A comparison, however, with the writing of that priest still preserved in St. Anne's records, destroys that theory. Prof. Ford thinks that it was written by some one within the fort, and suggests Robert Navarre. Following this suggestion, a comparison of this document with many of the extant records in the hand of Navarre seems to point to a satisfactory solution. Specimens of the journal, a page from Ste. Anne's Records and a deed by Navarre are given herewith for the purposes of comparison. A close examination of each shows similarity between the journal and the Navarre deed. The writer is not as neat and painstaking in his journal as in his public papers, but the

same style and form of writing is found in every line. He has evidently kept an accurate chronology of daily events, but has from day to day turned back and filled in with more minute details, as for example the description of the conduct of Luneau on pp. 140-142, and many similar passages.

Although Navarre did not reside within the fort, his easy access in the performance of his duties gave him the complete knowledge of affairs within.

He was a man of some education, had been the Royal Notary of the place under French rule and hoped to continue in a similar office after the British came. He was recommended by the British Commandant as worthy of confidence and was retained to conduct many of the duties of the post where both the English and the French were concerned. His long career in active service, begun in 1734, had made him thoroughly familiar with the languages of the Indians, for whom he frequently acted as interpreter. At the time of the siege he was living on his farm on the southwest side of the village. This farm is now within the limits of the city of Detroit and bears the name of Navarre or Brevoort farm, about two miles below the centre of the city. The land was formerly occupied by the Pottawattami Indians and was given by that tribe to their friend, Robert Navarre, whom they affectionately called "Robiche." Jean Marie Alexis Navarre, a son of Robert Navarre, was born and baptized at the house of his parents, and not in the church, on Sept. 22, 1763. The child was born on the night of his baptism, and the church entry was made the following day. This appears from the record and indicates the freedom the members of the Navarre family had in entering the besieged town. Therefore it seems quite plausible to attribute the journal to Robert Navarre.

Before leaving the subject the editor wishes to add a word concerning Sir Robert Davers. In the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, Vol. 1745-1766*, under the date of Aug. 31, 1763, there is a petition of Sir Robert Davers to the Board of Trade for a grant of Grosse Isle and several other little islands surrounding it, Isle Aux Dinde and lands on the eastern shore of the Detroit river from Lake Erie on the south to the River Aux Canards

on the north. Sir Robert was killed before the petition was referred to the Board, as recorded in the diary, and the Indians made use of some of these islands during the siege.

C. M. BURTON.

Detroit, Nov., 1912.

## Translator's Preface

The so-called Pontiac Manuscript is an intensely illuminating document for its gossip, information and folk-lore, and the various side-lights which it throws on the memorable siege of Detroit by the Indians in 1763, but it is historical rather than literary, as even the most hasty reader will perceive. As translator I have been concerned to reproduce the original in an intelligible, if not elegant English, and at the same time to leave untouched as much as possible the verbosity, discursiveness, and repetitions, which are so characteristic of the early work. However, what Pope called the "illiteracies" will not appear, though interwoven all through with the rhetorical peculiarities: the unknown writer displays such an utter indifference to matters of punctuation, spelling, composition, and grammar that it would be hazardous to attempt to perpetuate any of his vagaries. Still, it is certain that they have added greatly to the task of translation. Through the fact that capital letters are used so indiscriminately, and punctuation so neglected and capricious, it is frequently difficult to tell where phrases or sentences end or begin; and then, outside of the traditional combinations the spelling is surprisingly phonetic, which helps to make the reading of many passages and parts quite a *tour de force*.

The question of the authorship of the manuscript has been a subject of speculation at different times, but nothing definite has ever been established. Parkman in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* draws upon the facts of the manuscript which he knew through a copy loaned him by Gen. Lewis Cass, and he makes the statement that it is "conjectured to be the work of a French priest." Since he makes general acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Gen. Cass for materials dealing with the war and Detroit, one may infer, I think, that he was merely indorsing a tradition which was current in the French family who were in possession of the document in Gen. Cass' time.

It is well known that there were only two priests at Detroit during the period of the siege: Father Potier, Jesuit missionary to the Hurons, whose mission was on what

is now the Canadian side of the river; and Father Bocquet, a Franciscan, who was in charge of St. Anne's church, within the enclosures of the Fort.

Now as to Father Potier: There are several specimens of his composition and writing extant and nowhere do they show the least resemblance to the hand of the Pontiac manuscript. Father Potier wrote an almost uncial script, and a page of his writing reminds one of the painstaking efforts of some mediaeval copyist. The Pontiac manuscript, on the other hand, is in the ordinary running hand which was the pride of the French writers of the eighteenth century.

Father Potier was something of a scholar, also; he composed a Grammar of the Huron Language, which is full of Latin terminology, and the registry of baptisms in his parish he kept in Latin,—all of which goes to show, it seems to me, that he would hardly be guilty of such egregious language errors as the Pontiac manuscript abounds in. It is hard to imagine a man with any sort of Latin training using in his mother tongue singular verbs for plurals and vice versa, or disregarding the commonest gender agreements, or composing sentences so loose and rambling in structure as frequently to be almost inane. The fact is, the good father did not write French that way. For many years he kept a *Livre de Compte*, or account book, of the business transactions of his mission, and while he treated the matter of capital letters with some startling liberality, his spelling and syntax are quite reliable. Another point: Whenever he signs his name in the records it is always *Potier*, yet the writer of the manuscript frequently, commonly, in fact, refers to him as *Poitier*. Now I do not believe he would all at once have developed such carelessness in regard to his own name, even in his old age.

Another point: According to Elliott's investigations into the history of the Jesuit missions at Detroit, Father Potier enjoyed the very closest friendship with that Baptist or Pierre Meloche who lived up above the Fort and was Pontiac's intimate and adviser, and he was himself on friendly terms with him. Now, though it is certain that among all the *habitants* of the region Meloche was deepest in Pontiac's councils, it is equally plain that the writer

of the manuscript had no regard for Pontiac, as is evident from more than one statement which characterizes him as murderous, treacherous, dishonest, and pagan.

The greatest argument, however, against Father Potier's authorship of the manuscript is the internal evidence of the document itself which, in my opinion, points unmistakably to some writer within the Fort who, through the intercourse which was constantly kept up between the French of the village and stockade and the settlers up and down the river, and the friendly relations which were enjoyed with the Indians, knew all that was going on and was thus able to discuss and describe events with a surprising show of familiarity.

Still, when one comes to examine the manuscript narrative carefully it is seen that there is a marked difference in the treatment of various parts; occurrences and doings among the Indians are sketched with seeming fidelity and objectivity, yet with a knowledge which might easily have been gained from rumor and gossip circulating among the French and Indians; on the other hand, everything which has to do with the life of the garrison, especially in the martial aspect of events as they unroll from day to day, is given with all possible detail and circumstance. In fact, the atmosphere is the atmosphere of the Fort, and the viewpoint that of an eye-witness. Chit-chat about this and that; such statements as "It was brought to the knowledge of the Commandant at three o'clock," or "At five o'clock it was known in the Fort by a Frenchman who had gone out," or "News reached the Fort at four o'clock"; the exact number of men who engaged in the various sorties; all the interesting and loquacious details of the erection of the *cavalier* or portable bastion; such turns as "The Indians *came* to fire on the Fort," etc.; the thickness of planking in certain boats and the length of chains used with grappling hooks; casual reference to the fact that people heard shots fired in this or that direction,—all this and much more like it helps to weave a tissue of petty detail which is so significant as a whole. It is therefore pretty certain that the Fort is the real locus of the composition.

Now, who of all the French within the Fort might have been the author of the manuscript? When this question

is asked everyone thinks at once of Father Bocquet, the Recollect curate of St. Anne's, for he was in the very center of events and abundantly qualified to write a most interesting story. But did he do so?

With Father Bocquet, as with Father Potier, it is a question of scholarship which is the disturbing one. As one reads over the records of St. Anne's church left by Father Bocquet one is struck by their clearness and exactness; they are carefully made. And on those occasions where there was reason for more than the stereotyped statements he writes with a command of the language and an observance of its forms which are entirely lacking in the manuscript. In fact, it would seem quite impossible that the hand which wrote the accurate parish register could be the same one which composed the rambling and more or less illiterate story of the siege.

The author of the journal-like narrative makes mention of the church holy days as they come along, but with one singular omission: he notes Sunday, May 22, as Pentecost, but no attention is called to the fact that the following Sunday, May 29, is trinity Sunday (*fête de la Trinité*), though he records again that Thursday, June 2, is Corpus Christi Day, and June 9 is Little Corpus Christi Day. The church records give ample evidence that Father Bocquet was exact and painstaking in his churchly duties, and even the Pontiac manuscript bears witness in more than one place to his punctilious regard for church observances; it seems, therefore, hard to believe that he would have neglected an important entry like that in his journal, surrounded as it was with other festival days. Undoubtedly the narrative was composed after the siege, either from memoranda or brief diarial notes, but this would make such an oversight in a well-trained priest just as unlikely.

Again the question recurs, Who *did* write the Pontiac manuscript? And after having spun my theories so far I am compelled to acknowledge that no one knows. One of Goethe's characters in his *Iphigenia* says:

"Much talking is not needed to refuse,

The other hears in all naught but the No!"

And probably some who have followed this foreword so far will think the same. The elimination of the two priests from likelihood of the authorship has not solved the prob-

lem, however much it may have narrowed it down. It draws the cordon, as it were, a little tighter around the Fort, but as in the days of the siege there is still plenty of opportunity for the Frenchman to escape. And so far he has done so.

In all probability, if the manuscript were intact to-day, or if what is left were perfectly whole and legible, the identity of the writer would be disclosed; it is quite likely that many marginal notes are missing, as some even now are almost if not quite obscured. And it is quite likely, too, that the missing pages of the conclusion of the manuscript may have held the writer's name, for it does not sound like an anonymous document.

Now if I were to hazard a conjecture as to the author I should say it was probably—notice the probably—Robert Navarre, “the Scrivener,” once sub-intendant and notary at Fort Pontchartrain for the French king, and in the days of the British occupation still keeping the notarial records. The manuscript is entirely silent about him, a very significant fact, it seems to me, for he was exceedingly well known and prominent in the affairs of the settlement. He was a man of parts, with an intelligence half literary, half military, and especially well fitted to appreciate all that was happening around him.

I cannot close this little disquisition without expressing a translator's joy over the many quaint and curious words and phrases which I have come upon in the perusal of the old document. The French of Detroit in that early day, shut away as the post was from intercourse with the mother country, was in many respects the French of an older period, with a large number of special words and phrases which had come from life in the wilderness. Twice in the manuscript occurred the word *sacquaquois*, used with a feeling quite French; but though the word was evidently Gallicised it was just as plainly not French. Suspecting that it was Indian I submitted it to a Chippewa friend who on more than one occasion has helped me in similar difficulties; he recognized the word at once from its Chippewa cognate as meaning a “yell or shout of victory.”

This old story of the siege of Detroit is a chronicle out of age long past, and yet it is a story with so much human



interest in it that it ought to prove fascinating reading to the descendants of those first settlers of Detroit, and to all others who call themselves the city's children. Mr. Burton, by bringing it to public notice again and putting it within the reach of every one, is doing a real service to the people of Detroit and the commonwealth.

R. CLYDE FORD.

Ypsilanti, Mich.

Dec. 25, 1910.

# Journal or Narrative of a Conspiracy

OF THE INDIANS AGAINST THE ENGLISH, AND OF THE SIEGE OF FORT  
DETROIT BY FOUR DIFFERENT NATIONS

(Beginning) May 7, 1763

Pontiac<sup>1</sup>, great chief of all the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and all the nations of the lakes and rivers of the north, was a proud, vindictive, war-like and easily offended man. Under pretext of some fancied insult from Mr. Gladwyn<sup>2</sup>, Commandant of the Fort, he concluded that, inasmuch as he was the great chief of all the nations of the north, only himself and members of his own nation ought to occupy this part of the world, where, for some sixty odd years, the French had lived for purposes of trade, and which the English had governed for three years by virtue of the conquest of Canada. This chief, and his whole nation for that matter, whose only bravery lies in the treachery which he is able to inspire by his suave exterior, resolved within himself to wrest the lands away from the English and the French people.

In order to succeed in his project which he had not as yet communicated to any of his nation, the Ottawas, Pontiac enlisted them in his cause by an address, and they did

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<sup>1</sup>Pontiac was the principal chief of the Ottawas and the virtual head of a confederacy of Ottawas, Ojibwas and Pottawatomies, his influence spreading over all the nations of the Illinois region. Several tribes, the Miamis, Sacs and others claimed connection with him but it is more generally accepted that he was born among the Ottawas, son of an Ottawa woman. He was about fifty years old when in the fall of 1762 he sent messages with war belts to all the tribes far and wide, calling upon the Indians to unite and fall upon the English. After the failure of his plans, the tribes were gradually won back to peace with the English, but Pontiac held aloof for some time before he finally (Aug., 1765) made peace through George Croghan. He was assassinated in 1769 at a council held among the Illinois. Various stories as to the manner of his death are found; one, that he married a Peoria whom he abused so shockingly that her tribe surprised and killed him, for which the Ottawas completely exterminated the race by way of revenge. *Carver* relates that a faithful Indian who had either been commissioned by one of the English governors or instigated by his love for the English, attended him as a spy when Pontiac held a council in Illinois, and being convinced that his speech was suspicious, he instantly killed him. *Parkman* relates that Pontiac, while among the Illinois at Cahokia, went to a feast where he became drunk and wandered away toward the woods singing Medicine songs. An English trader, Williamson, bribed an Indian of the Kaskaskia tribe to follow and kill the chief. This was done and when the murder was discovered, his friends banded together and exterminated the whole race of Illinois. In the main corridor of the Southern Hotel in St. Louis, the St. Louis chapter of the D. A. R.

## Journal ou Dictation d'une Conspiration

FAITE PAR LES SAUVAGES CONTRE LES ANGLAIS, ET DU SIÈGE DU FORT  
DE DETROIT PAR QUATRE NATIONS DIFFÉRENTES

LE 7 MAY, 1763

Pondiak grand chefs de tous les outaouis, sauteurs, paux et toutes les nations des lacs et rivières du nord, homme orgueilleux, vindicatif, belliqueux et très aisé à choqué, sous prétexte de quelque insulte qu'il crût avoir reçue de la part de Mr. Gladouine, commandant du fort, se figura que étant grand chef de toutes les nations du nord qu'il n'y avait que Luy et ceux de sa nation qui devoient habiter cette partie de terre; ou depuis près de Soixante et quelques années Les françois fesoient Leurs domicile pour La facilité du Commerce avec eux et que Les anglois gouvernoient depuis trois ans par La conquête du Canada; le chef et toute sa nation dont sa bravoure est dans la trahison qu'ils se faciné par de beau dehors, resolue en Lui mesme La perte de terre de la nation angloise et Canadienne; Et pour réussir à Son projets qu'il n'avait pas encore communiqué à aucun de sa nation outaouaise, il Les engagea dans son parti par une harangue, eux qui tous porté qu'ils sont volontairement aux malices, ne ba-

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has erected a tablet, marking the burial place of Pontiac, the friend of St. Ange, killed at Cahokia, Ill., in April, 1769.

*Robert Rogers, Gen. Alex. Macomb and A. C. Whitney* have used the Siege of Detroit as a theme for a tragedy and Pontiac as its hero.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Gladwin, son of Thomas Gladwin, was born in 1730. In 1753 he was serving in the army as lieutenant of the 48th Foot and in 1755 subaltern in Col. Dunbar's regiment at the time of Braddock's defeat at Little Meadows. In 1759 he served as major under Gage and in 1760 was sent to relieve Niagara. His appointment as major was not approved by the home government until June 22, 1761. Owing to the unrest of the Indians about Detroit, Sir William Johnson and Maj. Gladwin went to that place in the summer of 1761, reaching their destination Aug. 17. During this visit Gladwin had an attack of fever and ague and was unable to leave the place until Oct. 12. After leaving Detroit Gladwin sailed for England and there on the 30th of March, 1762, he married Frances, daughter of the Rev. John Beridge. On Aug. 23 of that year he was again in Detroit as Commandant. After Pontiac's siege in the fall of 1764, Gladwin returned to England where he settled down to the life of a country gentleman. He died at his country home June 22, 1791, aged sixty-two years. His wife Frances, who died Oct. 16, 1817, aged seventy-four, a son Charles and three daughters survived him.

*Henry Gladwin and the Gladwin MSS. by Charles Moore, Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vol. XXVII.*

not hesitate to obey him, all inclined to wickedness as they are. But as they alone were too weak for this enterprise the chief tried by means of a council to draw over to his side the Pottawattamies<sup>3</sup>. This nation was controlled by a chief named Ninivois, a weak and easily influenced man; and knowing that Pontiac was his superior chief and treacherous, he and his whole tribe joined him. The two nations together comprised about four hundred men. This number not yet seeming large enough, it was a question of drawing into their project the Hurons<sup>4</sup> who were divided into two bands under two different chiefs of different character. However, the same Jesuit father, their missionary, controlled them both.

The two chiefs of this latter nation were called the one Takay, who was like Pontiac in character, the other Teata<sup>5</sup>, who was a very cautious and extremely prudent man. The last named, not of a disposition to do wrong, was not easily won over. Not caring to listen to Pontiac's messengers he sent them back as they had come. They then went to the other band of the Hurons who listened to them and received from them war-belts to join Pontiac and Ninivois, the Ottawa and Chippewa chiefs; and it was voted by means of wampum which even distant savages use for adornment that there would be a council on the 27th of April, when the day and hour of the attack would be fixed, and the necessary measures determined in order that their plans might not be discovered. And so it was decided in the way I have mentioned before that the council should be held on the 15th of the moon,—a way of reckoning

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<sup>3</sup>Pottawattamies had a village below the fort where the town Springwells was located.

<sup>4</sup>The Hurons or Wyandots had a village on the Canadian shore where the town of Sandwich was later located. Part of the Huron Mission house is still standing (1912). As early as 1728 Father Armand de La Richardie, S. J., established himself on the south shore of the Detroit River, ministering to the spiritual wants of the colonists and Indians on that side of the river. He built a mission house and a chapel. In 1743 Father Potier was sent to assist him and for a while had charge of a mission on Bois Blanc Island. This mission was closed in 1747 and Potier went to the Huron Mission. Up to this time the Hurons had lived on the opposite side of the river near the mouth of the Savoyard River, but in 1747 they moved to the southern side of the Detroit river where they built a new village. Here they resided until the 19th century. De

lancèrent pas à Luy obéir, mais comme ils se trouvoient trop faibles pour cette entreprise Le chef essaya d'attiré dans son party, la nation poux par un Conseil. Cette nation était gouverné par un chef nommée, ninivois, homme sans desseins, et fort facile à entraîner et qui Connaissait pondiäk pour son principal chef et d'un caractère félonique L'écouta Lui et tout sa bande et se joignèrent à Luy, ses deux nations composoient environ quatre cents hommes, ce nombre ne Luy paraissait pas encore suffisant: il Sagissait de mettre dans leurs projets La nation huronne, qui divisé en deux Bande étoient gouverné par deux chefs différent et de différent caractère. Et cependant tous étoient conduit par le Supérieur, père Jésuite, Leur missionnaire. Les deux chefs de cette dernière nation, se nommoient, L'un také du mesme caractère que pondiak et l'autre se nommait téata, homme fort circonspect, d'une prudence consommée; ce dernier n'étoit pas facile à entraîner n'étant point d'un naturel à mal faire, ne voulu point écouter les députés de pondiak, Les renvoya comme ils étoient venus; ceux cy aux premiers de cette dernière nation, de qui ils furent écoutés et reçus colliers de guèrres pour se joindre à pondiak et ninivois chefs outaouis et sauteux, et il fut résolue par des branches de porcelaine, manière de se parée à la façon sauvage éloigné qu'il aurait un conseil le 27 d'Avril, aussi, assigné le jour et l'heure de l'attaque et qu'il serait nécessaire de prendre des mesures pour empêcher d'être pas découvert dans leurs plans, comme c'est une façon de compter parmi Les Sauvages il fut alors décidé par les paroles dont jay parlé cy dessus que

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la Richardie returned to Quebec in 1753 and died there March 23, 1758, leaving Potier the entire charge of the mission. Potier left some interesting account books and church records which are printed and translated in the *Jesuit Relations* and in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. II'. He conducted his mission until his death, which occurred as the result of an accident, and was buried July 18, 1781. *Ontario Hist., Soc. Papers and Records*, Vol. VII.

\*Teata's name appears in the records of the church of the Assumption as late as 1791, when he stood sponsor at the baptism of a young Indian child. His wife, Marguerite, was buried at Assumption, May 14, 1799, and at the time was called the widow of the late Teata, chief Huron of Monguagon. *Records of the Church of the Assumption*.

time among the Indians—which was Wednesday, the 27th of April.

When the day agreed upon for the council had arrived, the Pottawattamies, led by Ninivois, and the Hurons by Takay, betook themselves to the rendezvous which was on the Ecorce River ten miles from the fort toward the southwest,—a place which Pontiac had chosen for his camp at the breaking up of the winter so as not to be disturbed in his schemes. This move which was something new for him and his people caused the French to wonder, without however, enabling them to see the reason for it, because the Indians are very whimsical anyway.

The council of the three nations, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and the bad Huron band, took place and was presided over by Pontiac in his capacity of head chief of all the northern nations. He made a speech, and as a reason for his action exhibited war-belts which he claimed he had received from his Great Father, the King of France, to induce him to attack the English. He also spoke of pretended insults which he and his nation had received from the Commandant and the English officers, and even mentioned how a sentinel had struck one of his followers with a gun while pursuing a woman who was his cousin.

They listened to him as chief, and in order to flatter his vanity and excite his pride they promised to do whatever he wished. Delighted to find so much loyalty among the three nations which numbered four hundred and sixty men, he craftily made use of their weakness to get complete control over them. To accomplish this he related in the council the story of a Wolf<sup>6</sup> (Delaware) Indian, who had journeyed to Heaven and talked with the Master of Life. He spoke with so much eloquence that his narrative had just the effect upon them that he desired.

This story deserves a place here since it contains in

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<sup>6</sup>Wolf: "Loups" in French, who called themselves Lenni Lenape, meaning original men, but also called by the English, the Delawares. *Mich. Pion. Colls.*, Vol. VIII, p. 268.

le Conseil se tiendrait le 15ème de la Lune qui était le mercredi le 27 du mois d'avril.

Le jour nommé pour le conseil venûs, Les poux conduit par ninivois et les hurons par také se rendirent au rendezvous qui était à la rivière aux écorse à quatre Lieux audessous du fort, tirans au sorouest, lieu que pondiak avait choisi pour placer son camp au sortis d'hivernement pour n'être pas inquieté dans ses projets. Cette démarche que Luy n'y ses gens n'avoient pas coutume de faire donnait à penser aux français, sans cependant en pénétrer la cause parce que d'ordinaire Les Sauvages sont assez fantasque.

Le conseil se tint entre les trois nations : Outasoise, poux et la mauvaise bande des hurons, ou pondiak en qualité de grand chef de tous les nations du nord présida et prenant la parole il exposa pour raison qui le faisait agir des prétendus colliers qu'il disait avoir reçu de son grand père Le Roy de france pour frapé sur les anglais et joins aux pretendûs insultes que Luy et Ceux de sa nation avoient reçue du Commandant et des officiers anglais, jusque a un Coup de bourade qu'un Soldat Sentinel avait donné à un de ses gens en suivant sa Cousine, il fut écouté de tous Comme leur chef et qui pour flatter sa vanité et rehausser son orgeuille Luy promirent de faire ses volontés. Lui charmé de voir dans les trois nations qui composaient 460 homme, tant de soumission, en homme rusé, profitât de leur faiblesse pour avoir sur eux tout empire, pour cette effet il Leur rapporta dans le Conseil une histoire d'un Sauvage Loup qui avait été au ciel, parlé au maître de la vie, mais avec d'éloquence quelle fit sur eux tout l'effet qu'il sen était promis.

Cette histoire mérite icy sa place puisquelle est comme  
Le principe du plus noir des attentats sur la nation anglaise

blackest aspect the reason of the attack upon the English, and upon the French too, perhaps, if God in His mercy had not disposed differently. It is as follows<sup>7</sup>:

An Indian of the Wolf nation, eager to make the acquaintance of the Master of Life,—this is the name for God among all the Indians—resolved to undertake the journey to Paradise, where he knew He resided, without the knowledge of any of his tribe or village. But the question was how to succeed in his purpose and find the way thither. Not knowing anyone who had been there and was thus able to teach him the road, he had recourse to incantation in the hope of deriving some good augury from his trance. As a rule all the Indians, even those who are enlightened, are subject to superstition, and put a good deal of credence in their dreams and those things which one has a good deal of trouble to wean them from. This episode will be proof of what I say.

This Wolf Indian in his dream imagined that he had only to set out and by dint of travelling would arrive at the celestial dwelling. This he did the next day. Early in the morning he arose and equipped himself for a hunting journey, not forgetting to take provisions and ammunition, and a big kettle. Behold him then setting out like that on his journey to Heaven to see the Master of Life.

The first seven days of his journey were quite favorable to his plans; he walked on without growing discouraged, always with a firm belief that he would arrive at his destination, and eight days went by without his encountering anything which could hinder him in his desire. On the evening of the eighth day he halted at sunset as usual, at the opening to a little prairie upon the bank of a stream which seemed to him a suitable camping place. As he was preparing his shelter for the night he beheld at the other end of this prairie where he camped, three roads, wide and plainly marked. This struck him as singular, nevertheless,

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<sup>7</sup>Schoolcraft has translated and printed this story in his *Algic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 239.



et peut être sur les français Sy Dieu par sa grâce n'en eût disposé autrement.

Cette histoire est Conçue en ces termes, un sauvage de la nation Loup, envieux de voir et de connaître Le maître de la vie, C'est ainsi que tous Les Sauvages appellent le Bon Dieu Résolû d'entreprendre Le voyage du paradis ou il savait quel était sa Residence sans en rien Communiqué à Ceux de sa nation ny de son village, mais il était question pour réussir à son projet de Sçavoir Le chemin qui y mène, côme il ne Connaissait personne qui y ayant été, pût, Luy enseigner La route, se mis à jongler dans l'espérance de tirer Bonne augure de sa reverie, Comme une règle général que tous Les Sauvages, mesme ceux qui sont affranchis sont sujets à la Supertition en ajoutant beaucoup de foy a leurs Songes et ce dont on a Bien de la peine à Les faire revenir, Cette histoire donnera une preuve de ce Javance.

Savage Loup dans Sa reverie, S'imagina qu'il n'avait qu'à Se mettre en chemin et qu'il parviendrait à force demarche à la demeure céleste, ce qu'il fit le lendemain, de grand matin, il Szabille et S'équipe en voyageur de chasse sans oublier de prendre ses provisions et Ses ammunitions et une grande chaudière, puis comme cela le voilà parti pour son voyage le Ciel, y voir Le maître de la vie, Les premiers sept jours de Son voyage furent assez favorable à Ses desseins, il marchât Sans Se décourager, ayant toujours une ferme confiance qu'il arriverait à son bût, puis huit jours s'était déjà écoulé Sans qu'il rencontra qui que ce Soit qui pût être un obstacle à Ses désirs. Sur le Soir du huitième jour, au Soleil couchant suivant l'ordinaire il S'arrête à l'entré d'une petite prairie qui Luy parût propre à Camper sur le bord d'un ruisseau, en préparant Son logement il apperçu à L'autre bout de cette prairie ou il campoit, trois chemins Bien Large et Bien frayé qui Lui parurent avoir quelque chose de singulier

he went on working on his shelter so as to be protected from the weather, and made a fire. While doing his cooking he thought he noticed that the three roads became all the brighter the darker it grew, a thing which surprised him to the point of fear. He hesitated for some time over what he should do, whether to remain in his present camp, or move and camp elsewhere; but as he pondered he recalled his incantations, or rather his dream, and that he had undertaken this journey from no other reason than to see the Master of Life. This led him to believe that one of the roads was the one he must take to reach the spot he desired. He concluded to remain where he was till the next day, when he would choose one of the three routes at random. However, his curiosity hardly allowed him time to reflect upon it before he abandoned his camp and set out along the road which seemed to him the widest. He continued in it for half a day without seeing anything to stop him, but, pausing a little to take breath, he saw suddenly a great fire coming out of the earth. This aroused his curiosity. He drew nearer to see what this fire was, but the closer he approached the more the fire appeared to increase. This frightened him and caused him to retrace his steps and take another road which was narrower than the first one.

After following this road the same length of time as the other he beheld the same spectacle, and his fear which had been quieted by the change of route was again aroused. He was once more obliged to turn about and take the third road which he followed for a day without discovering anything. Suddenly he saw before him what appeared to be a mountain of marvellous whiteness and he stopped, overcome with astonishment. Nevertheless, he again advanced, firmly determined to see what this mountain could be, but when he arrived at the foot of it he no longer saw any road and was sad. At this juncture, not knowing what to do to continue his way, he looked around in all directions and finally saw a woman of this mountain, of radiant

néanmoins il continua de travailler à sa retraite pour se mettre à couvert des injures du temps, et fait du feu, il crût Sappercevoir en faisant sa cuisine que plus le temps Sobscurcissait par Le Loignement du Soleil et plus les trois chemins devenoient clair, ce qui Le Surpris jusqu'au point de L'Effrayé, il esita quelque moment Sur ce qu'il avait affair, ou de rester à son camp ou de S'éloigner pour camper plus Loing, mais en balançant ainsy il se ressouvint de sa jonglerie ou plutôt de son rêve et qu'il n'avait entrepris ce voyage qu'à dessein de voir Le maître de La vie, ce qui Lui remit Les Sens dans la Croyance qu'un de ces trois chemin, était celui qu'il fallait prendre pour se rendre au Lieu où il aspirait, il seresoud de Resté où il était, jusque au Lendemain, qu'il prendrait une de ces trois route Sans choisir, mais Sa curiosité Luy donna apeine Le temps de prendre sa reflection, il abandonna Son Camp et Sachemine dans le Chemin qui luy parût le plus Large, il y marcha jusque vers La moitié du jour Sans rien voir qui pût L'arrêter, mais Se reposant un peu pour prendre haleine, il vit tout d'un Coup un grand feu qui sortait dessous terre, ce qui attira Sa Curiosite, en S'approchant de plus près pour mieux Considéré ce que Se pouvait être que ce feu, et plus il approchait et plus Le feu Luy paroissait augmenter, ce qui L'effraya jusque au point de le faire retourné Sur ses pas, pour prendre un autre chemin qui était moins Large que le premier, ou ayant marché dans le mesme espace de temps qu'à L'autre, il vit Le mesme Spectacle, ce qui reveilla sa fayeur qui s'était assoupy par le changement de route Et qu'il fut encore obligé de faire pour prendre Le troisième chemin, dans lequel il marche L'espace d'une journée sans rien de Couvrir, tout d'un Coup il s'offre à sa vûe Comme une montagne d'une merveilleuse Blancheur qui le fit arrêter et le saisit d'Etonnement, néanmoins Bien resoluë il avance pour voir ce que pouvait être que cette montagne, étant au pied il ne vit plus de chemin, ce qui le rendit triste ne Sçachant Comment faire pour continuer sa route, dans

beauty, whose garments dimmed the whiteness of the snow. And she was seated.

This woman addressed him in his own tongue: "Thou appearest to me surprised not to find any road to lead thee where thou wishest to go. I know that for a long while thou hast been desirous of seeing the Master of Life and of speaking with him; that is why thou hast undertaken this journey to see him. The road which leads to his abode is over the mountain, and to ascend it thou must forsake all that thou hast with thee, and disrobe completely, and leave all thy trappings and clothing at the foot of the mountain. No one shall harm thee; go and bathe thyself in a river which I shall show thee, and then thou shalt ascend."

The Wolf was careful to obey the words of the woman, but one difficulty yet confronted him, namely, to know how to reach the top of the mountain which was perpendicular, pathless, and smooth as ice. He questioned this woman how one should go about climbing up, and she replied that if he was really anxious to see the Master of Life he would have to ascend, helping himself only with his hand and his left foot. This appeared to him impossible, but encouraged by the woman he set about it and succeeded by dint of effort.

When he reached the top he was greatly astonished not to see anyone; the woman had disappeared, and he found himself alone without a guide. At his right were three villages which confronted him; he did not know them for they seemed of different construction from his own, prettier and more orderly in appearance. After he had pondered some time over what he ought to do, he set out toward the village which seemed to him the most attractive, and covered half the distance from the top of the mountain before he remembered that he was naked. He was afraid to go further, but he heard a voice telling him to continue and that he ought not to fear, because, having bathed as he had, he could go on in assurance. He had no more difficulty in continuing up to a spot which seemed to him to

cette conjoncture il regarde de tous costé, il vit dont de cette montagne une femme dont La beauté Eblouissait et dont les habits ternissait La blancheur de la neige et qui était assise.

Cette femme Luy dit dans sa Langue tu me parois Surpris de ne pas trouver de chemin qui te mene ou tu veux allé Je Sçay que il y a Longtemps que tu as envie de voir et de parlé au maître de la vie, C'est pourquoi tu as entrepris le voyage que pour Le voir, Le chemin qui mène à Sa demeure est sur cette montagne, Et pour La monté il faut que tu quittes tout ce que tu as et que tu te deszabille entièrement et Laisse tout ton butin et tes hardes au pied de la montagne, personne ne ty fera tard, et que tu aille te Lavé dans cette riviére que je te montre, et aprés tu monteras. Le sauvage Loup obéit a la voix de cette femme de point en point, mais il Lui restait une difficulté à vaincre, c'était de sçavoir, Comment parvenir au haut de cette montagne qui était droite, sans sentier et unis comme une glace, il questionna cette femme Sur La façon de s'y prendre pour monter, il lui fut repondû que S'il avait vraiment envie de voir Le maître de la vie qu'il falloît Lamonté et ne s'aïdé que de sa main et de son pied gauche, ce qui parû comme impossible au Loup, qui cependant encouragé de cette femme Se mit en devoir de la monté Et y parvint avec bien de la peine, quand il fut en haut il fut Bien etonné de ne plus voir personne, Cette femme était disparûe, il se vit Seul sans guide, au droit de trois villages qui Luy faisait face Et qu'il ne connaissait pas qui Luy semblais autrement Construit que le Sien, plus Beau et dans un plus Bel ordre, après avoir rêvé quelque temps à ce qu'il devait faire il s'avance vers celui qui avait à sa vue Le plus d'apparence, ayant bien fait la motié du chemin depuis Lehaut de la montagne, il se ressouvint qui était nud, il eut crainte d'avancer davantage, mais une voix qu'il entendit Luy ayant dis de continuer qu'il ne devait point Craindre que s'étant Lavé comme il avait fait il pouvait marché en assurance et ne fit plus de difficulté

be the gate of the village, and here he stopped, waiting for it to open so he could enter. While he was observing the outward beauty of this village the gate opened, and he saw coming toward him a handsome man, clothed all in white, who took him by the hand and told him that he was going to satisfy him and let him talk with the Master of Life. The Wolf permitted the man to conduct him, and both came to a place of surpassing beauty which the Indian could not admire enough. Here he saw the Master of Life who took him by the hand and gave him a hat all bordered with gold to sit down upon. The Wolf hesitated to do this for fear of spoiling the hat, but he was ordered to do so, and obeyed without reply.

After the Indian was seated the Lord said to him: "I am the Master of Life, and since I know what thou desirest to know, and to whom thou wishest to speak, listen well to what I am going to say to thee and to all the Indians:

"I am He who hath created the heavens and the earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, all men, and all that thou seest and hast seen upon the earth. Because I love you, ye must do what I say and love, and not do what I hate. I do not love that ye should drink to the point of madness, as ye do; and I do not like that ye should fight one another. Ye take two wives, or run after the wives of others; ye do not well, and I hate that. Ye ought to have but one wife, and keep her till death. When ye wish to go to war, ye conjure and resort to the medicine dance, believing that ye speak to me; ye are mistaken,—it is to Manitou that ye speak, an evil spirit who prompts you to nothing but wrong, and who listens to you out of ignorance of me.

"This land where ye dwell I have made for you and not for others. Whence comes it that ye permit the Whites upon your lands? Can ye not live without them? I know that those whom ye call the children of your Great Father supply your needs, but if ye were not evil, as ye are, ye could surely do without them. Ye could live as ye did live

d'allé jusque à une endroit qui Luy semblait estre La porte de ce village et S'arrête pour attendre quel s'ouvrit pour entrer, pendant qu'il examinait Labeauté du dehors de ce village, Laporte, s'ouvrit, il vit venir a luy un bel homme vestu tout en blanc qui Le prit par la main Luy Disant qu'il allait le contenter Lui faisant parlé au maître de la vie. Le Loup se Laissa conduire et il arrivèrent tous deux dans un endroit dont La beauté n'avait rien d'égal et que le Sauvage ne pouvait Lassé d'admiré, ou il vit Le maître de la vie qui Le prit par la main lui donna un chapeau tous Bordé en Or pour Sassoier dessus Le Loup, hésita de le faire par La crainte qu'il avait de gâter Le chapeau, mais il Luy fut ordonné de le faire, il obéis sans réplique.

Le Sauvage s'étant assis Le Bon Dieu Luy dit Jesuis Lemaître de la vie come Je Sçay que tu désir de Connoître et a qui tu veux parlé, Ecoute Bien ce que Je te vais dire pour toy et pour tous Les Sauvages, Jesuis celui qui a fais Le ciel, La terre, Les arbres, Les lacs, Les rivières, tous les hommes et toute ce que tu vois, et tout ce que tu a vûe Sur la terre, parceque j'ai fait cecy et parce—que je vous aime, il faut faire ce que je dis et ce que j'aime Et ne pas faire ce que je haïs. Je n'aime point que vous buviez jusqu'à perdre La raison Comme vous faiste, et quand vous vous battez Je ne veux pas cela, vous prenez deux femmes ou Bien vous courez Les femmes des autres vous ne faistes pas Bien Je haïs cela, vous ne devez avoir qu'une femme et Lagardé jusque à la mort, quand vous voulez allez en geure vous jonglez, vous chantez La medicine croyant me parlé, vous vous trompé C'est au Manietout à qui vous parlé C'est un mauvais Esprit qui ne vous souffle que du mal et qui vous ecouté faute de me Bien connaître.

Cette terre ou vous este Je lay fais pour vous, Et non pas pour d'autres d'ou vient que vous souffrez Les Blancs Sur vos terres, Est ce que vous ne pouvez pas vous passer deux. Je say que Ceux que vous appelez Les enfans de votre grand père, vous apporte vos besoins, mais Sy vous n'étiez pas mauvais Comme vous L'este vous vous pas-

before knowing them,—before those whom ye call your brothers had come upon your lands. Did ye not live by the bow and arrow? Ye had no need of gun or powder, or anything else, and nevertheless ye caught animals to live upon and to dress yourselves with their skins. But when I saw that ye were given up to evil, I led the wild animals to the depths of the forests so that ye had to depend upon your brothers to feed and shelter you. Ye have only to become good again and do what I wish, and I will send back the animals for your food. I do not forbid you to permit among you the children of your Father; I love them. They know me and pray to me, and I supply their wants and all they give you. But as to those who come to trouble your lands,—drive them out, make war upon them. I do not love them at all; they know me not, and are my enemies, and the enemies of your brothers. Send them back to the lands which I have created for them and let them stay there. Here is a prayer which I give thee in writing to learn by heart and to teach to the Indians and their children."

The Wolf replied that he did not know how to read. He was told that when he should have returned to earth he would have only to give the prayer to the chief of his village who would read it and teach him and all the Indians to know it by heart; and he must say it night and morning without fail, and do what he has just been told to do; and he was to tell all the Indians for and in the name of the Master of Life:

"Do not drink more than once, or at most twice in a day; have only one wife and do not run after the wives of others nor after the girls; do not fight among yourselves; do not 'make medicine,' but pray, because in 'making medicine' one talks with the evil spirit; drive off your lands those dogs clothed in red who will do you nothing but harm. And when ye shall have need of anything address yourselves to me; and as to your brothers, I shall give to you as to them; do not sell to your brothers what I



seriez Bien deux, vous pouriez vivre tout comme auparavant que de les Connoître. Avant que ceux que vous appelez vos frères fussent venu Sur vos terres, ne viviez vous pas a Larc et à Lafleche? Vous n'aviez pas besoin de fusil ny de poudre et ainsy du Reste et cependant vous attrapiez des animeaux pour vivre et pour vous habillé avec Leurs peaux, mais quand Jay vûe que vous vous donniez au mal. Jay retiré dans les profondeurs des bois les animeaux, pourque vous eussiez Besoin de vos frères, pour avoir votre nécessaire, pour vous Couvrir, vous n'avez qu'a venir Bon, et faire ce que Je veux, Je vous renvoyez les animaux pour vivre. Je ne vous deffend pas cela de Souffrir parmi vous Les enfants de votre père, Je les aime, ils me connaissent et ils me prient et Je leur donne Leurs Besoins et tous ce qu'ils vous apporte, mais pour Ceux qui sont venus troublé vos terres chassé Les, faites Leurs La geure, Je ne les aime point ils ne me connaissent pas et sont mes ennemis et les ennemis de vos frères, renvoyé Les Sur Les terres que Jay fait pour eux Et qu'ils y restent.

Voilà une prière que Je te donne par écrit pour apprendre par cœur et pour L'apprendre aux Sauvages et aux enfans. Le Loup fit réponse qu'il ne sçavait pas Lire, il Luy fût repondû que quand il Serait revenue Sur terre, il n'aurait qu'à La donner au chef de son village qui La Lirait et La Lui apprenderoit par Cœur et a tous Les sauvages et qu'il fallait La dire Soir et Matin. Sans manquer et de faire ce qui venait de Luy dire et de le dire à tous Les sauvages de la part et au nom du maître de la vie, de ne point Boire qu'un Coup, ou deux tout au plus par jour, de n'avoir qu'une femme, Et de ne point Courir après les femme des autres ny après Les filles, de ne point se Battre entre eux, de ne point faire La medecine, mais Laprière, parce que en faisant La medecine ont parle au Mauvais Esprit, de Chasser de dessus Leurs terres Ces chiens habillé de rouge qui ne vous ferons que du mal. Et quand vous, vous aurez besoin de quelque chose addressé

have put on earth for food. In short, become good and ye shall receive your needs. When ye meet one another exchange greeting and proffer the left hand which is nearest the heart.

“In all things I command thee to repeat every morning and night the prayer which I have given thee.”

The Wolf promised to do faithfully what the Master of Life told him, and that he would recommend it well to the Indians, and that the Master of Life would be pleased with them. Then the same man who had led him by the hand came to get him and conducted him to the foot of the mountain where he told him to take his outfit again and return to his village. The Wolf did this, and upon his arrival the members of his tribe and village were greatly surprised, for they did not know what had become of him, and they asked where he had been. As he was enjoined not to speak to anybody before he had talked with the chief of his village, he made a sign with his hand that he had come from on high. Upon entering the village he went straight to the cabin of the chief to whom he gave what had been given to him,—namely, the prayer and the law which the Master of Life had given him.

This adventure was soon noised about among the people of the whole village who came to hear the message of the Master of Life, and then went to carry it to the neighboring villages. The members of these villages came to see the pretended traveller, and the news was spread from village to village and finally reached Pontiac. He believed all this, as we believe an article of faith, and instilled it into the minds of all those in his council. They listened to him as to an oracle, and told him that he had only to speak and they were all ready to do what he demanded of them.

Pontiac, delighted at the success of his harangue, told the Hurons and Pottawattamies to return to their villages, and that in four days he would go to the Fort with his young men for the peace-pipe dance, and that while the dancers were engaged some other young men would roam

vous à moi & comme vos frères Je vous Donnerai comme à eux, ne point vendre à vos frères ce que jay mis sur terre pour la nourriture, bref devenez bon et vous recevrez de rien vos Besoins, quand vous vous rencontrés les Uns et les autres de vous Saluer et de ne vous donner que la main gauche qui est La Main du Cœur, Sur toutes choses Je te Commande de faire tous Les Jours matin et soir la prière que Je te donne Le Loup promit de Bien faire ce que Le maître de la vie Lui disait et qu'il Le recommanderait Bien Aux Sauvages et que Le maître de la vie Serait Content deux, Ensuite Le mesme homme qui L'avait amené par la main. Le vint reprendre et Le conduisit jusque au pied de Lamontagne ou il Luy dit de reprendre tout son Butin et de s'en retourner à son village Ce que Le Sauvage Loup exécuta, ou étant arrivé il surpris Bien Ceux de sa nation et de son village qui ne Sçavoient pas ce qu'il était devenu, et qu'il Luy demander d'où il venait Comme il lui était enjoint de ne parlé à personne qu'il n'eût parlé à son chef de village, il se contenta de leur faire signe avec La main qu'il venait d'en haut, en entrant dans son village il fut droit à la cabane du chef à qu'il il donna ce que Luy avait été donné. La prière et La Loix que Le maître de la vie Luy avait donné.

Cette aventure fût Bientôt ébrité dans tout le village qui vinrent pour entendre La parole du maître de la vie, et qui furent La porté à d'autre village Circonvoisin qui vinrent pour voir Le prétendu voyageur et firent Courir cette nouvelle de village en village et parvint jusque à pondiak qui croyant cela comme nous, nous Croyons un article de foi, L'insinua dans L'esprit de tous ceux de Son Conseil, qui L'écouterent Comme un oracle et Luy dirent qu'il n'avait qu'à parlé qu'ils étaient tous prest à faire ce qu'il exigeoit d'eux.

Pondiak charmé du succès de son harangue dits aux hurons et aux poux de s'en retourner à leurs village que dans quatre jours il irait au fort avec les jeunes gens de son village pour danser Le Calumet, et que pendant que

around in the Fort to spy out all that was being done, the number of men the English had in the garrison, the number of traders, and the houses they occupied. All of this happened as he had said.

The first Sunday, or rather Sunday, the first day of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon, as the French were coming out of vespers, Pontiac came with forty men that he had chosen and presented himself at the entrance gate. But the Commandant, who had got wind of something in the conduct of the Indians, had ordered the sentinels not to let any come in. This surprised Pontiac. Seeing that they refused admission to him and his whole band who expected to enter as usual, they sent for Mr. LaButte<sup>s</sup>, their interpreter, to say in their behalf to the Commandant that they had come to amuse him and dance the peace-pipe dance. At the request of Mr. La Butte they received permission. They took up their position to the number of thirty before the house in which Mr. Campbell<sup>9</sup> lived, the second in command, and began to dance and beat a post, and relate their warlike exploits. And from time to time they leaped about the commander-in-chief and the accompanying officers who were watching the Indians perform, saying to them in defiance that they had beaten the English at various times and would do so again.

After they had finished talking they demanded bread, tobacco, and beer, which were given to them. They remained long enough so that the ten others who had the word could note all that was going on in the Fort. And nobody, English or French, mistrusted them, since it is frequently their custom to roam around anywhere unhindered. After these ten had made the round of the Fort and closely examined everything, they came back to join the dancers, and all, as if nothing had happened, went

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<sup>s</sup>Pierre Chesne dit La Butte, interpreter and merchant at Detroit, was one of the old and greatly respected men of the post. He was son of Pierre Chesne and Jeanne Baillin of the parish of Point aux Trembles, Quebec, and was born in 1698. When he was thirty years old he married, at the Miami post, Marie Madeline, daughter of Pierre Roy, by whom he had one son. His wife died in 1732 and he married Louise Barrois. He lived in the village on St. Anne street and died May 13, 1774. *St. Anne Church Records, Detroit.*

Les danseurs feraient Leurs devoir, d'autre jeunes gens roderoient dans Le fort pour Bien examiné tout ce qui Se passeroient. Le nombre de monde que les anglais pouvait avoir en garnison La quantité de commerçant et les maisons qu'il occupoient, ce qui arriva comme il Lavait dit.

Le premier, Dimanche, ou plustôt le Dimanche, premier jour du mois de May Sur Les trois heures après midy comme Les français sortoient de vêpres, pondiak avec quarante hommes qu'il avait choisi vinrent se présenté aux portes pour entré, mais Mr. Lecommandant qui avait eû vent de quelque chose de la conduite des sauvages avait ordonné que les sentinelles ne Laissassent entré aucun Sauvages, ce qui surpris pondiak voyant que L'on Luy refusait La porte Luy et toute sa bande qui croyoient entré comme à son ordinaire, il firent venir Mr. La Butte leurs interprete pour dire de leur parts au Commandant qu'il venait pour le divertir et danser Le Calumet, ce qui Leurs fut accordé à la demande de Mr. La Butte et se placèrent a nombre de trente devant La maison ou Logeait Mr. Cambel commandant en second et senirent en devoir de danse et frapé au poteau et mettant en Lumière leurs exploits guerrier, et de temps en temps ils donnoient des gambades aux 1er Commandant et aux officiers qui les accompagnoient et qui regardoient faire Les Sauvages, qui leurs disoient pour Les Bravé qu'ils avoient frapé Les anglais en plusieurs fois différentes et qu'ils y fraperoient encore et finissant Leurs discours, ils demandèrent du pain, du tabac et de la bière, ce qui Leur fut donné, ils restèrent assez de temps pour que Les dix autres qui avoient Le mot pussent examiné tous ce qui se passaient dans Le fort. Et personne ni anglais, ni français ne se mefiaient deux parce que c'est souvent Leur coutume de rodé par tous sans que Lon Leur en empêche, Ceux cy après avoir fait

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<sup>9</sup>Capt. Donald Campbell was a Scotch officer who came to America with the 62nd Regt. in 1756 and was made captain of the Royal Americans in 1759. He came to Detroit in 1760 and remained in command until Maj. Gladwin arrived, when he was retained second in command. He was cruelly murdered by the Indians on July 4, 1763, as is recounted in this narrative.

away to their village<sup>10</sup> which was located a little distance above the Fort on the other side of the river in the direction of east northeast, where, according to the orders of Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, all the Indians had encamped the previous Friday.

After their return to the village all the spies reported point by point to their chiefs what they had seen: the movements of the English, and the approximate number of the garrison. Following this report Pontiac<sup>11</sup> sent his messengers to the Hurons and the Pottawattamies to inform them by means of wampum belts of what had happened at the fort. Mackatepelecite, the second chief of the Ottawas, and another Indian highly regarded among them, were despatched to Takay, the chief of the bad Huron band, who received them with enthusiasm and promised that he and his village were ready to obey the first demand of their great chief.

Pontiac, wholly occupied with his project and nourishing in his heart a poison which was to be fateful for the English, and perhaps for the French, sent runners the following day, Monday, the 2nd of May, to each of the Huron and Pottawattamy villages to discover the real feeling of each of these two nations, for he feared to be crossed in his plans. These emissaries had orders to notify these nations for him that Thursday, the 5th of May, at mid-day, a grand council would be held in the Pottawattamy village which was situated between two and three miles below the Fort toward the southwest, and that the three nations should meet there and that no woman should be allowed to attend for fear of betraying their plans.

When the appointed day had come all the Ottawas with Pontiac at their head, and the bad band of the Hurons in

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<sup>10</sup>Pontiac's village is on the maps of that day, opposite the central part of the Isle au Cochon, where the present town of Walkerville is located.

<sup>11</sup>Although Pontiac was chief actor in the siege he was aided by several Chippewa and Indian warriors and chiefs—Mahigam, the Wolf; Wabanamy, the White Sturgeon; Kittacoinsi, he that climbs; Agouchiois, a friend to the French, of the Ottawas; and Gayashque, Wasson, Macataywasson, Pashquior, Chippewa chiefs. *Lanman's History of Michigan*, p. 107.

Leur ronde dans le fort et tous bien examiné, revinrent trouvé Les danceurs, qui tous ensemble faisant mine de rien, s'en allèrent à leur villages qui était situé un peu audessus du fort de l'autre Costé de la rivière, tirant Sur l'est, nord est, ou Suivant Les ordres de pondiak, chef des Outasois, tous Les Sauvages S'étaient venus mettre Le vendredy auparavant.

De retour au village tous Les espions rapportèrent à leurs chefs de point en point ce qu'ils avaient vû Le mouvement des anglais et La quantité a peu près de troupe qu'ils avaient de garnison, Sur ce rapport pondiak envoya des deputés aux hurons et aux poux pour leur donner avis par des colliers de ce qui se passaient au fort.

Mackotépelicite, second chef outasois et un autre Sauvage considéré parmi eux furent dépêché a také, chef de la mauvaise Bande des hurons qui reçurent Les Colliers et Les deputées avec Joye, deux autres considéré furent envoyé vers ninivois, chef des poux qui les reçue avec acclamation Et promis que Luy et son village Etoient près à la première demande de leurs grand chefs.

Pondiak toujours occupé de son projet et qui nourrissait dans son Sain un poison qui devait estre funeste aux anglais et peut estre au français envoya le Landemain.

Lundy 2ed de May, des émissaires dans chaque village, huron et poux pour examiner L'intérieur de chacune de ses deux nations, car il craignait des traversé dans ses desseins, Ses emissaires avoient ordres de dire de sa part aux nations que Jeudi le.

Cinquième de May, à mis Soleil il serait tenus un grand conseil dans le village des poux qui était situé à une demie Lieux aud dessous du fort au Sorouest, et qu'il fallait que les trois nations s'y rendissent et qu'il ne fallait pas que aucune femme S'y trouva peur d'estre découvert.

Le jour assigné étant venus tous Les outavois, pondiak à Leurs testes, La mauvaise bande des Hurons, také à

charge of Takay, repaired to the Pottawattamy village where the expected council was to be held. Care had been taken to send the women out of the village so that they might not hear anything of what should be decided. Pontiac ordered sentinels to be placed around the village in order not to be disturbed in their council. When all these precautions had been taken each Indian seated himself in the circle according to rank, and Pontiac at the head, as great chief of all, began to speak. He said :

“It is important for us, my brothers, that we exterminate from our lands this nation which seeks only to destroy us. You see as well as I that we can no longer supply our needs, as we have done, from our brothers, the French. The English sell us goods twice as dear as the French do, and their goods do not last. Scarcely have we bought a blanket or something else to cover ourselves with before we must think of getting another; and when we wish to set out for our winter camps they do not want to give us any credit as our brothers, the French, do.

“When I go to see the English commander and say to him that some of our comrades are dead, instead of bewailing their death, as our French brothers do, he laughs at me and at you. If I ask anything for our sick, he refuses with the reply that he has no use for us. From all this you can well see that they are seeking our ruin. Therefore, my brothers, we must all swear their destruction and wait no longer. Nothing prevents us; they are few in numbers, and we can accomplish it. All the nations who are our brothers attack them,—why should we not attack? Are we not men like them? Have I not shown you the wampum belts which I received from our Great Father, the Frenchman? He tells us to strike them,—why do we not listen to his words? What do we fear? It is time. Do we fear that our brothers, the French, who are here among us will prevent us? They do not know our plans, and they could not hinder anyway, if they would. You all know as well as I that when the English came upon our



leurs testes, tous se rendirent au village des poux où le Conseil premidité devoit se tenir ont eût soin de renvoyé Les femmes hors du village pour qu'elles n'entendirent rien de tout ce qui serait décidé. Pondiak ordonne qu'il fut mis des sentinelles autour du villages pour n'estre point interrompus dans Leurs Conseil, toutes ces precautions prises, chaque Sauvage prend sa place en forme de cercle chaqu'un suivant son rang, et pondiak à la teste comme grand chef de tous, pris la parole comme chef de la ligue. Leurs dits.

Il est important pour nous, mes frères que nous exterminions de dessus nos terres cette nation qui ne cherche que à nous faire mourir, vous voyez tous aussi bien que moy que nous ne pouvons plus avoir nos besoins comme nous les avions avec nos frères les françois, Les anglais nous vendent Les marchandises deux fois plus que les françois nous les vendaient et leurs marchandises ne durent rien, à peine avons nous acheté, une couverture ou autre chose pour nous couvrir qu'il faut penser à en avoir d'autre, quand nous voulons partir pour aller à nos hivernements, ils ne veulent point nous faire de credit, comme faisaient nos frères Les françois, quand Je vas voir le chef anglais que je luy dit qu'il nous est mort de nos Camarades, au lieu de pleuré Leur mort comme faisaient nos frères Les français il se moque de moy et de vous, Si je luy demande quelque chose pour nos malades, il me refuse et me dit qu'il n'a pas besoin de nous, vous pouvez bien voir par Là qu'il cherche notre perte, et Bien mes frères il faut Juré tous ensemble La Leur et ne pas attendre plus Longtemps, rien ne nous en empêche, il sont très peu de monde, nous en viendrons Bien about, toutes les nations qui sont nos frères frappe Sur eux, pourquoy ny fraperions nous pas ne sommes nous pas des hommes comme eux, ne vous ai je pas fait voir Les colliers que Jay reçue de notre grand père le françois il nous dit de frapé pourquoy ne pas écouté Ses paroles, que craignons nous, il est temps, Craignons nous que nos frères les français qui sont ici, parmis nous nous en em-

lands to drive out our Father, Belestre<sup>12</sup>; they took away all the Frenchmen's guns and that they now have no arms to protect themselves with. Therefore, it is time for us to strike. If there are any French who side with them, let us strike them as well as the English. Remember what the Master of Life told our brother, the Wolf, to do. That concerns us all as well as others. I have sent wampum belts and messengers to our brothers, the Chippewas of Saginaw, and to our brothers, the Ottawas of Michillimackinac, and to those of the Thames River to join us. They will not be slow in coming, but while we wait let us strike anyway. There is no more time to lose. When the English are defeated we shall then see what there is left to do, and we shall stop up the ways hither so that they may never come again upon our lands."

The speech, which Pontiac delivered in such an energetic tone, produced its desired effect upon the members of the council, and they all swore with one accord the complete destruction of the English. It was decided before the council closed that Pontiac at the head of sixty chosen men should go to the Fort to ask the English commander for a grand council, and that they should have weapons hidden under their blankets, and that the rest of the village, armed with tomahawks, dirks, and knives, also hidden under their blankets, should follow them and enter the Fort. In order not to arouse any suspicion they were to stroll about while the former attended the council with the Commandant. The Ottawa women were also to enter, furnished with shortened guns and other weapons hidden under their blankets, and take up their position in the rear streets of the Fort and await the signal which should be a war-cry given by the

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<sup>12</sup>Francois Marie Picote, Si ur de Bellestre, was the last French commandant at Detroit. He was appointed in 1758 and held the office until Detroit and the entire Northwest were surrendered to Maj. Robert Rogers in the fall of 1760. He was born in Montreal 1719, married Marie Anne Nivard dit St. Dizier July 28, 1738, by whom he had six children, all born at Montreal. In 1755 he married Marie Anne Magnon dit Lesperance. Upon the organization of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada in 1763 (under British rule) he was made one of its members. He died at Quebec in May, 1793. *Mich. Pion. Colls.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 336-340.

pêche, ils ne savent pas nos dessiens et ils ne le peuvent quand ils Le voudraient, vous Sçavez tous comme moy, que quand Les anglais sont venus Sur nos terres pour chasser notre père, Belle estre, ils ont oté tous les fusils des français et qu'il n'ont plus d'armes pour se deffendre, ainsy il est tems, frapons, S'il y a des français qui prennent pour eux frapons dessus comme sur L'anglois, Souvenez-vous de ce que Le maître de La vie a dit de faire à notre frère Le Loup, cela nous regarde tous comme eux, Jay envoyé des colliers et des paroles à nos frères Les sauteurs du Saguinaw, à nos frères les outasoïs de michelimakinak et à ceux de la rivière à la tranche pour se joindre à nous et qui ne tarderons pas à venir et en Les attendant frapons toujours il n'y a plus de temps à perdre, et quand Les anglais seront defait nous voirons ce nous ferons, et nous Boucherons Les passages pour qu'ils ne viennent plus sur nos terre.

Cette harangue que pondiak prononça d'un ton Si énergique fit Sur toute Lassemblée du Conseil, tout l'effet qu'il s'en était promis et jurent tous d'une commune voix La perte entière de la nation anglaise.

If fut décidé à la fin du Conseil que pondiak à la teste de Soixante hommes choisies iraient dans le fort pour demander un grand Conseil au Commandant anglais et qu'ils auraient des armes caché Sous Leurs couvertes et que le reste du village Les suivraient armées de Casse-teste, de dague, de Couteaux caché Sous leurs couvertes et entrerait dans le fort, comme S'ils sepromenaient pour que l'on eût aucun mauvais Soupçon deux, pendant que Les premiers tiendraient Conseil chez le Commandant, et les femmes outasoïses devaient aussi entré munis de fusil, coupi et d'autres armes offensives caché Sous Leurs couvertes, se porte dans Les rues de derrière dans le fort, et attendre le Signal, qui serait un cris de mort que le grand chef devait faire et que tous ensemble fraperoient sur Les

great chief. All together should fall upon the English, taking good care not to harm the French which lived in the Fort. The Hurons and the Pottawattamies were to divide into two bands,—one to go down the river to cut off those who should come (from that way), the other to remain around the Fort at a distance to kill those who were working outside; and in all the villages the war-song was to be chanted.

After all the plans were made on this day each nation withdrew to its village, resolved to carry out the orders of the great chief. But whatever precautions they took against being discovered, God brought it about that they were discovered, as I shall relate.

An Ottawa Indian named Mahiganne, who had but feebly assented to the conspiracy and was displeased at the evil behavior of those of his tribe, came Friday night, unknown to the other Indians, to the gate of the Fort and asked to speak to the Commandant, saying he had something of importance to communicate to him alone. The gate was opened and he was conducted to Mr. Campbell, second in command, who had Mr. Gladwyn, the commander-in-chief notified. They wanted to notify Mr. La Butte, the interpreter, but the Indian did not wish it, saying that he could speak enough French to make himself understood by Mr. Campbell. He then explained to the two commanders the conspiracy of the Indians, and how they were all evil-disposed and had sworn their destruction and in the course of that very day were to fall upon them, and that they must be on their guard. He also begged the commander not to tell anybody, either of the French or English, what he had just related to them, because the rest of the Indians would not fail to find it out sooner or later, and knowing about it they would kill him from rage at having failed in their attack. The Commandant thanked him and wanted to reward him with presents. The Indian would not take

anglais et de prendre Bien garde de faire du mal aux français qui habitaient dans le fort, et les hurons et les paux devaient se partagé en deux bandes L'une devait aller en bas de la rivière pour arrêter ceux qui viendraient et l'autre Bande estre autour du fort au Loing pour tuer ceux qui étaient à travailler dehors le fort et qu'il fallait chanter La guerre chaqu'un dans son village, se jour là toutes les dimensions prises chaque nation se retira dans son village avec resolutions d'executer Les ordres de leur grand chef, mais quelque procation qu'ils prirent pour n'estre pas découvert Dièu permis qu'ils le furent comme Je vais le dire.

Un sauvage outasois nommé Mahiganne qui n'avait que faiblement donné Sa voix dans la Conspiration et qui n'étant pas content de la mauvaise demarche de ceux de sa nation, vint dans la nuit du vendredy au Samedy; Sans que les autres, Sauvages Le Seussent, a la porte du fort, demande à parlé au Commandant disant qu'il avait quelque chose d'important à Luy dire En particulier, Les portes luy furent ouvertes ont Le Conduisit chez Mr. Cambel, second commandant qui fit avertir Mr. Gladouine, Commandant en chef. L'on voulû faire avertir Mr. La Butte, interprète Le Sauvage ne voulû point; disant qu'il parlerait assé français pour se faire entendre de Mr. Cambel, il déclara à Ses deux Commandants La Conspiration des Sauvages et qu'ils étaient tous très mal intentionnés et qu'ils avaient Juré Leurs pertes, que dans La Journée ils devaient frapé Sur eux et qu'il eû a se tenir Sur Leur-garde, et il pria ensuite Les Commandants de ne pas dire à personne ce qu'il venait de leurs Communiqué ny aux français ny aux anglais, parceque Les autres Sauvages ne manqueraient pas de le Sçavoir tôt ou tard et que le Sçachant ils le tueroient de rage de leur avoir fait manqué Leur coup. Le Commandant Le remercia et voulû Luy donné des présents. Le Sauvage n'en voulû point et pria

any and again begged the commanders not to betray him, and the promise was made and kept.<sup>13</sup>

The commanders, after they had heard this report which appeared to them to be true, gave orders at once that the guard should be doubled at daybreak, and that there should be two sentries at each big gate, and that the two small gates should be closed. This was quickly done. The officers were also enjoined to inspect the arms of their troops and warn them to be ready to appear at the first roll of the drum. All of this was to be done without any commotion so that the Indians coming into the Fort might not notice that their plans were discovered. The orders were carried out so well that the French did not know anything about it.

May 7.

The fatal day which was the 7th of May and the 26th of the moon, following the Indian custom of reckoning time, having arrived for the English and perhaps for the French, Pontiac, who believed his designs still a secret, ordered in the morning that all his men should chant the war-song and paint themselves and put feathers in their hair,—an Indian custom when about to go on the warpath; moreover, all were to be armed with whatever was necessary for the attack.

Toward ten o'clock in the morning he came in his trappings to ask for a council, and it was granted. All of his men to the number of sixty who were to take part in the council entered the house of Mr. Campbell, second in command, where Mr. Gladwyn, commander-in-chief, was with a part of his officers who were all aware of the bold designs

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<sup>13</sup>The mystery attached to the discovery of Pontiac's designs has been the theme of many romances. The most popular is the story told by *Parkman* of the Indian girl "Catherine," who was in love with Gladwin and betrayed the plot in order to save him. The Indians immediately hit upon this as the reason for their failure to surprise the garrison and actually did find and punish an Indian woman named "Catherine" as told in this narrative. They confronted Gladwin with the woman and demanded to know who was their betrayer. MacDonald describes the scene and says that "he told them that it was one of themselves whose name he promised never to reveal." There seems to be truth in the story that Angelique Cuillerier dit Beaubien, whose father and brother were friends of Pontiac, betrayed the secret to her lover, James Sterling, who in his turn disclosed it to Gladwin, for ten years later Maj. Henry Bassett wrote to Haldimand (Aug. 29, 1773), "I recommend Mr. James Sterling, who is the first mer-

Mrs. Les Commandants de ne pas le vendre à personne, ce qui Lui fut promis et tenu.

Messieurs Les Commandants Sur ce rapport qui Leur parurent fidelle Sans rien devoillé de ce qu'ils Sçavaient ordonna sur Le cham que au jour La garde serait redouble, qu'il y eût deux factionnaires à chaque grande portes et que les deux petites portes fussent condamné ce qui fut fait tout de suite et enjoint aux officiers qu'il eussent à visiter Les armes de leurs troupes de leur avertir de se tenir prest à paroître à premier coup de Baguette et que tout cela fut fait Sans grand mouvement pour que les Sauvages venant dans Lefort ne s'apperçussent point qu'ils sont découverts les ordres fussent bien execute. Les fran- çais ne s'en apperçurent point.

7, de May.—Le jour fatal pour les anglais et peut estre pour Les francais Etant venus, qui était le Septième de May et Le 26e de la Lune, suivant L'usage de compter parmis Les Sauvages. Pondiak qui croyait Son dessein Bien secret ordonna le matin à tous Ses gens que La guerre fut chanté dans son village et de se vernir et peinturé, de mettre du duvets Sur sa tête, c'est une façon de Shabiller parmis Les Sauvages qui vont en guerre. Et que tous chacun Sarma de ce qui lui était nécessaires pour frapé et vint en cette équipage vers les dix heures du matin demandere a parlé en Conseil, ce quoi Luy fut accordé, tous Ses gens au nombre de Soixante destiné pour le Conseil entrèrent dans La maison qu'occupait Mr. Cambel second commandant ou Mr. Gladouin.

Commandant en chef se trouva avec une partie des officiers qui tous étaient prevenues du dessein téméraires de

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chant at this place and a gentleman of good character, during the late war, through a Lady, that he then courted, from whom he had the best information, was in part the means to save the garrison." Rutherford, in his narrative, says that while at the house of Quilleim (Cuillerier), during his captivity, he had a conversation with Miss Quilleim in which she greatly lamented the state of the English and the dreadful acts of the Indians. Still another version is given in a letter of Ensign J. Price to Col. Henry Bouquet, Fort Pitt, June 26, 1763. In this we are told "That on or before the 1st of May 1,500 Indians arrived at Detroit and wanted to hold a Treaty in the Fort, but Major Gladwin, being told by Monsieur Bauby that if they were admitted, they would fall upon and destroy every man in it, ordered the garrison under arms, which the chiefs of the Indians seeing, asked if he was afraid."

of Pontiac and had arms concealed in their pockets. The rest of the officers were occupied in getting their troops in readiness to appear when wanted. This was done with so much despatch that the Indians did not have any occasion for suspicion. While the council was assembling the other Ottawa Indians entered and took their places according to the plans agreed upon among them.

Pontiac in the council, thinking that it was about time for all of the people to have entered and taken positions in readiness for the attack, went out to see for himself if all his followers were ready and to give the signal which, as I have said, was to be a war-whoop. He perceived some commotion attracting the attention of his men toward the drill-ground and wanted to see what it might be. He noticed that the troops were under arms and drilling. This maneuver augured ill for the success of his plot, inasmuch as he was surely discovered and his project defeated. He was disconcerted at this and obliged to re-enter the council room where all his men had remained waiting only for the cry to attack. They were greatly surprised when they saw him come back; they suspected that they were discovered and that, since they could no longer succeed, for the present they must leave and put off the attack to another day. They talked it over among themselves for some time, and then without saying good bye or anything they went out of the gate to regain their village where they might take other measures against discovery and succeed better.

Pontiac, upon his return to the village, found himself overwhelmed by various emotions,—anger, fury, and rage. As one might have thought, he looked like a lioness robbed of all her whelps. He assembled all his young men and made inquiries among them to see if they did not know the one that had betrayed them, “because,” he said to them, “I see very well that the English have been warned.” He gave them orders to try to find out the traitor in the nation, for they must kill him. But all their researches were in vain;



pondiak se trouvèrent avec des armes caché dans Leurs poches. L'autre parties des officiers étaient occupé à faire tenir Leurs troupes en état de paraître au Besoin, ce qui fut fait avec tant d'adresse que Les sauvages n'eurent pas La moindre occasion de Soupçon, Le Conseil Se tint ou pendant ce temps tous les autres Sauvages outasoïs entrèrent et prirent chacun Leurs places suivant Le Conseil qui avait été tenus entre eux.

Pondiak, dans le Conseil, voyant a peu près Le temps que tous Ses gens pouvaient estre entré, et placé en état de faire Coup il sortis pour voir par luy-même Si tout son monde étoient en état de frapé et pour donner Le Signal qui comme Jay dit était un cris, il sapperçu de quelque mouvement qui attirait La curiosité de ses gens Sur La place d'armes, il eut envie de voir ce que Se pouvait estre il vit que La troupe étoient sous Les armes et qu'ils fesoient L'exercise, cette manoeuvre Le fit mal angré pour son dessein voyant Bien qu'il était découvert et que son projet était rompus, ce qui Le déconcerta et L'obligea a rentré dans La Salle du Conseil ou étoient restés tous Ses gens qui n'attendoient que Le cris pour frapé. Ceux cy furent Bien surpris quand ils Le virent rentré, ils se doutèrent Bien qu'ils étaient découvert et que ne pouvant plus réussir pour le présent il falloit sortire et mettre La party à un autre jour, ils se parlèrent quelque tems en eux et sans dire adieu ny rien, ils passèrent Laporte pour gagner leurs village afin de prendre d'autre mesures pour n'estre pas découvert et mieux réussir.

De retour au village, pondiak se trouva combatû par divers mouvement. La Collère, Lafureur et Larage, ont eû dit a Levoir une Lionne a qui ont a Enlevé sepetits, il fait assemblé tous les jeunes gens, S'inquette deux S'il ne scauroient pas celuy qui Les vendaient, parceque Leur dit ils, Je vois bien que Les anglois ont été avertis, ils Leur ordonna de S'informer et detaché de découvrir le traite de la nation qu'il falloit Letué, mais toutes Leurs recherche fut

the one who had informed against them had taken too many precautions for them to discover him.

In the meantime, toward four o'clock in the afternoon there arrived in the village a false rumor that it was a Chippewa woman<sup>14</sup> who had betrayed them, and that she was concealed in the Pottawattamy village. At this report Pontiac ordered four Indians to go look for her and bring her to him, and these, taking delight naturally in lawlessness, were not so slow to do what their chief told them. They crossed the river directly in front of the village, and passed by the Fort quite naked but for breechclouts, with knives in their hands. They were yelling as they went along that their plan had failed, which caused the French along the shore who knew nothing about the plot of the Indians, to think they had some evil designs either upon them or upon the English. They arrived at the Pottawattamy village and actually found the woman who had not even thought of them. Nevertheless, they took her and made her walk ahead of them, all the while uttering yells of joy as if they had a victim upon whom they were going to vent their cruelty. They took her into the Fort and before the Commandant as if to confront her with him, and demand if she was not the one who had disclosed to him their plans. They got no more satisfaction than as if they had kept quiet; the Commandant ordered bread and beer for them and for her, and then they took her to their chief in their village.

It was now a question in the village of inventing some ruse to conceal their treachery and carry through their evil projects. Pontiac, whose genius constantly supplied him with new resources, said that he had thought out another scheme which would succeed better than the first one, and that the next day he would act upon it; he would go to speak with the Commandant to try to undeceive him con-

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<sup>14</sup>Henry Conner, one of the interpreters at Detroit, relates of Catherine, that in later years she perished by falling, when drunk, into a kettle of boiling maple syrup.

inutile, celui qui Les avoient vendûe avait trop Bien pris ses précautions pour qu'ils ne vinsent pas à le connaître. Cependant Sur les quatre heures après midy il vint une fausse nouvelle dans le village que c'était une femme Sau-teuse qui les avoient vendûe et qu'elle était cachée : Dans le village des poux, sur ce rapport pondiak ordonna à quatre Sauvages de L'aller chercher et de La Luy amené, ceux qui. Se plaise naturellement aux désordre ne furent pas paresseux à faire ce que leurs chef Leurs dit et traversèrent La rivière droit devant Le village et passèrent dans Le fort tous nud n'ayant Sur eux que Leurs Brayois et leurs Couteaux à leurs mains, cryant Le Long du chemin qui Leur coup était manqué, ce qui donna Lieu au français de la Coste qui ne savoient pas Le dessein des Sauvages à penser qu'ils avoient quelque mauvaise intention ou Sur eux ou Sur Les Anglais, ils arrivèrent au village des poux et trouvèrent effective-ment La femme qui ne pensait pas à eux, cependant ils La prirent et La firent marché devant eux en faisant des cris de Joy comme quand ils tiennent une victime Sur La-quelle ils vont assouvir Leurs cruauté, ils La firent entré dans Lefort et L'amener chez Le Commandant comme pour La reconfronté et pour demander au Commandant Sy ce n'était pas d'elle qu'il avait Sçu leurs desseins, ils ne furent pas plus satisfait que Sils se fusent tenus tranquille ils se firent donné par Le Commandant du pain et de la Bière pour eux et pour elle et L'emmenèrent à leurs chefs dans Leurs village.

Il était actuellement question dans Le village d'inventer quelque nouvelle ruse pour masquer leurs trahison Et mettre fin a Leurs mauvais projets, pondiak a qui le génis fournissait toujours de nouvelle ressource, dit qu'il avoit premedité un autre dessein qui Lui réussirait mieux que Lepremier, et que Le jour suivant il travailleroit en Con-séquence et irait parlé au Commandant pour taché de le dessuadé de ce que Lon Lui avait dit et qu'il ferait si Bien

cerning what had been told him, and he would play his part so well with these gentlemen in disproving the falsehood, that as soon as they heard him they would fall into his trap and he could accomplish his purpose before they knew it.

Fortunately, however, the Commandant and all the officers who had escaped the danger which threatened them and were safe only as long as they were on their guard, were not the kind of men to be caught by the flattering talk of a traitor; consequently, all that the enmity of Pontiac could devise against them was useless. But still he attempted to come to the Fort, as if sure of his plan, and actually did come as he had told his followers he would do.

May 8th, Sunday,

About one o'clock in the afternoon he came accompanied by Mackatepelicite, Breton, and Chavinon, all chiefs of the same Ottawa nation. They brought with them a calumet, which they call among themselves the calumet of peace. They asked and were granted an audience by the Commandant, and did all they could with fine words to deceive him and lead him and all his troops into the snare which they had set for him. Warned of their wicked intrigues the Commandant acted as if he believed what they told him, but nevertheless was on his guard.

Pontiac told him as proof of his cherishing no bad designs that he had brought the pipe of peace for them to smoke together in token of agreement; and that he was going to leave it with him as a guarantee of the Indians' uprightness, and that as long as he had it he need not fear anything from them. The Commandant accepted the pipe which he well knew was a feeble guarantee against the bad faith of an Indian. After the Commandant had received it Pontiac withdrew with his chiefs, well satisfied and believing that his tricks had succeeded and entangled the English in the snares which his wickedness had set for them. But without knowing it he was deceived in his expectations.

He and his chiefs returned to his village as happy as if

son affaire avec Ses Messieurs pour prouvé Le faux qu'à son entende Messieurs Les anglois donneroient dans son panneau, qu'insensiblement il viendrait à bout de les defaire.

Mais heureusement Messieurs Les Commandant et tous Les officiers qui avoient echapé du danger qui Les menaçoient et qui n'en étoient dehors que autant qu'ils seraient Sur Leurs gardes, n'étoient pas homme à Selaissé Surprendre audiscours flateurs d'un traite, de sorte que tous ce que La malignité de pondiak pouvait Leurs dicté fut inutile, mais comme Sur de son faite, il tenta de venir au fort et y vint en effet comme il L'avait dit à Ses gens.

8ème May.—Le Dimanche, huitème de May, vers un heure après midy accompagné de Mackatépélicité, de Breton et de chavoinon, tous chefs de la même nation outasoise, ils apportèrent avec eux un Calumet qu'ils nomme entre eux Le Calumet de paix, ils demandèrent a parlé, Mr. Le Commandant Leurs donna audience, ils firent par Leurs beaux discours tout ce qu'ils purent pour Le trompé et L'engagé Luy et toute Sa troupe dans Les pièges qu'ils Luy tendaient, Mr. Le Commandant qui venait refouler, prevenus de Leurs intrigues mauvaise fit fainte de les croire aux prejudices de Ce qu'on Lui avait dit, mais toutefois Setenant Sur Ses gardes.

Pondiak Luy dit que pour preuve qu'il n'avait aucun mauvais dessein, il avait apporté Le Calumet de paix, pour fumer tous ensemble En signe d'union, Et qu'il allait Le Luy Laissé entre Les mains comme en témoignage de Leurs droiture et que tant qu'il L'aurait ils ne devoient plus craindre de leurs part. Mr. Le Commandant accepta Le calumet qu'il Sçavait Bien Estre un faible garant contre La mauvaise foy d'un Sauvage, après que Le Commandant L'eût reçue, pondiak Sortis avec Ses chefs Bien content croyant que Ses démarches Luy avait réussit et avait engagé Ses Messieurs dans Les peiges que Sa malignité Leurs tendaient mais Sans Le Sçavoir il fut trompé dans son attente.

Il retourna Luy et Ses chefs à son village Bien joyeux

they were sure of the success of their enterprise, and in a few words they reported to their young men the result of their negotiations. They sent messengers to the bad band of the Hurons and to the Pottawattamies to notify them of what they had just accomplished at the Fort, and that the next day was the one which should settle the fate of these Englishmen, and that they should hold themselves ready for the first call.

In order to play his part better and make it appear that neither he nor his followers cherished evil designs any longer, Pontiac invited for four o'clock in the afternoon the good and bad Huron bands and the Pottawattamies to come and play lacrosse with his young men. A good many French from each side of the river came to play also, and were well received by the three nations. The game lasted till about seven o'clock in the evening, and when it was over everybody thought of returning home. The French who lived on the Fort side of the river and had been beaten were obliged to recross the river in order to return home. As they embarked in their canoes they began to utter war-whoops and yells of victory, as the Indians do when they have won a game. The officers in command, ever on the alert, thought it was the Indians crossing to fall upon the Fort and massacre them; they ordered the gates to be closed quickly and the troops and traders to take up their positions on the ramparts for defense in case of attack. However, it was only a false alarm occasioned by the imprudence of the young Frenchmen who did not realize the situation.

Pontiac who had no thought whatever of coming to the Fort, was for the moment occupied with the Hurons and the Pottawattamies who had remained in the village. After the game he related to them all the details of the parley between the commanders and himself and his chiefs, telling them that according to the word of these gentlemen he was to return the following day to smoke the pipe of peace, or rather of treason, and that he hoped to succeed.

Comme Sils eussent été Sure de la réussite de leur entreprise, et en peu de mots rendèrent Compte à leurs jeunes gens de leurs négociation. Et envoyèrent des députées à la Mauvaise Bande des hurons et aux poux pour leur donner avis de ce qu'ils venoient de faire au fort, que Le Jour suivant était Celui qui déciderait de Mrs. Les Anglois, et qu'ils eussent à se tenir près au premiers avertissement.

Pondiak pour mieux jouer son Rôle et faire croire que veritablement il ne pensait plus ny Lui ny Son monde a Leurs mauvais desseins, il invita Sur les quatre heures après midi la bonne et la mauvaise bande, tous les hurons et Les poux a venir jouer a la crosse avec ses jeunes gens, il y eut beaucoup de français de l'un et de L'autre côte de la rivière qui y furent pour jouer aussi et qui furent Bien reçu des trois nations. Le Jeu dura jusque vers Sept heures du soir et étant fini chaqu'un Songea à Se retirer chez Soy. Les françois qui demeuraient de costé cy du fort qui avait été joué, pour revenir chez eux furent obligé de retraverser la rivière, en embarquant dans Leurs canôts, ils se mirent à faire des cris et des Sacquaquois, Comment font les Sauvages quand ils gagne aux Jeux, Mrs. Les Commandants, toujours en défiance crurent que C'étaient Les Sauvages qui traversoient pour foncer Sur Lefort et Les massacré ordonna que L'on ferma vite les portes et que La troupe et le Commerçant fussent Sur Les ramparts pour se deffendre en cas d'attaque, mais ce ne fut qu'une fausse allerte occasionné par L'imprudence des jeunes gens françois qui n'en savait pas plus. Long.

Pondiak qui ne pensait nullement à venir au fort était dans le moment occupé avec Les hurons et Les poux qui étaient resté au village après Ses jeux il Leur détailla toute Ses Circonstances de sa négociation Entre Mrs. Les Commandants et Luy avec Ses chefs Leurs disant que suivant La parole de Ses Messieurs, il devrait retourné Le Landemain pour fumer dans Le Calumet de paix ou plustôt de trahison et qu'il espérait faire son coup, il contait Sans Son hôte.

But he reckoned without his host.

May 9, Monday; The First day of Rogations.

Following the custom of the church the curate and all the clergy<sup>15</sup> conducted the procession outside the Fort without incurring any harm. Likewise mass was celebrated, after which everybody in his own house wondered how the day would pass, knowing full well that Pontiac would make some other attempt.

The good people secretly lamented the evil fate which threatened the English who did not have much of a force. Their garrison consisted of about one hundred and thirty troops, including the officers, eight in number, and some forty men, traders and their employees<sup>16</sup>. In addition, they had two vessels of unequal size<sup>17</sup> which were anchored in front of the Fort and defended the place from the side toward the river. They would have been few if the Indians by any chance had been good soldiers.

Pontiac who had concealed in his breast the murderous knife which was to cut short the life of these people, set out to go to the Fort with fifty men of his nation in accordance with what he had arranged the night before with the Hurons. The others were to observe the same behavior as on the preceding Saturday.

About eleven o'clock he presented himself at the gates with his followers, but he was refused in pursuance of an order of the Commandant. He insisted upon entering, asking to speak to the Commandant, and saying that he and his chiefs had come only to smoke the pipe of peace in accordance with the promise which the Commandant had given them. He was told that he could easily enter, but only with twelve or fifteen of the leading men of his nation and no more. He replied that all his people wanted to smell the smoke of the peace-pipe, and that if they could not enter he would not enter either. He was promptly

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<sup>15</sup>Father Simple Bocquet, a Recollet Missionary, was priest at Detroit during this period.

<sup>16</sup>"At the beginning of this affair there were not above 80 persons in the whole that carried arms in the fort and about 34 on board two vessels." The same article also states that the fort at Detroit was a square stockade, fortified with



Le Lundy, 9eme de May, premier Jours des Rrogations, suivant La Coutume de L'eglise, Le Curé et tous Le Clergé firent La procession dehors le fort bien paisiblement, messe fut celebré de mesme, ou après chaqu'un chez Soy. Examinait comment La Journée se passerait Sçachant Bien que Pondiak ferait encore quelque tentative. Les honnêtes gens gémisaient secrettement Sur Le Mauvais Sort dont ces Messieurs étaient menacée et qui n'avaient pas beaucoup de monde. Leurs garnison consistaient aux environs de cent trente hommes de troupes y compris Les officiers qui étaient huit de leurs corps, et autour de quarante hommes tant Les Commerçants que Leus engagés, de plus Ses Messieurs avaient deux Barques de différentes grosseurs qui étaient mouillés devant Lefort et qu'en deffendoient La place du costé de la rivière, s'étoient peu Sy malheureusement Les Sauvages eut été de bon Soldats.

Pondiak qui cachait dans son Cœur Le Couteau meurtrié qui devait tranché Le fil des jour de Ses Messieurs, se déposa, suivant ce qu'il avait Laveille aux hurons et aux poux à venir au fort avec cinquante hommes de sa nation et tous Le reste devoient observé La mesme démarche que Le Samedy precedent, il se presenta aux portes Sur les onze heures pour entrer avec son monde, ce quy Luy fut refusé suivant Les ordres du Commandant, il fit instance pour entrer, demandant a parler au Commandant, disant qu'il ne venait Luy et Ses chefs que pour fumer dans le Calumet de paix suivant La promesse qui Luy en avait été faite par Mr. Le Commandant, il luy fut repondu que volontiers il entrerait, mais seulement avec douze ou quinze considéré de sa nation et pas davantage, il fit reponce que tous ces gens voulaient sentir La fumée du Calumet Et que S'y Ses gens n'entraient pas, il n'entrerait pas non plus, il fut refusé tout net, et fut contraint de s'en

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four bastions and was large enough to hold 3,000 troops. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1763, p. 455.

<sup>17</sup>These two vessels were probably the Huron and the Beaver. *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publ. VI*, p. 26.

refused and was forced to return to his village in a bad humor. However, this disturbed these gentlemen very little. The Commandant<sup>18</sup> had the French warned to keep in their houses<sup>19</sup>.

Pontiac, enraged to see that his last stratagem had failed and all his projects were wrecked, caught up a tomahawk as soon as he entered his village and chanted the war-song, saying that inasmuch as he could not strike the English within the Fort he would attack those on the outside; he ordered all his people, men, women and children, to cross the river to the side where the Fort was, in order to harass it the better, and pitch camp on the shores at Baptiste Meloche's<sup>20</sup>, a mile and a quarter above the Fort. This was done promptly.

He divided his men into several bands to attack in different places; one band went half a mile back from the Fort, where an old English woman<sup>21</sup> lived with her two sons who cultivated for themselves seven or eight acres of land and kept a good deal of cattle, such as oxen and cows. These poor people, suspecting nothing, were killed, scalped, their property plundered, and their house set on fire. It was a terrible spectacle to see how the fire took sides with the Indians; the dead bodies were burned up in the house. The Indians killed a part of the cattle and drove off the rest, some of which escaped into the woods and were later found by the French settlers along the shore.

While this first band were engaged in their work of carnage, the other band went to Hog Island<sup>22</sup> where there lived a man named Fisher<sup>23</sup>, former sergeant of the Eng-

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<sup>18</sup>The Commandant, etc. Marginal note in original.

<sup>19</sup>Most of the French lived along the river on their ribbon farms, their houses facing the water. At the beginning of the siege they passed in and out of the fort and held a neutral position. As the siege progressed the Indians demanded their support and took their provisions and supplies by force. This caused many of the French to retire within the fort while others took up the Indian cause.

<sup>20</sup>Jean Baptiste Meloche lived on the northeast coast near the creek now called Bloody Run, where he operated a gristmill on the Hunt Farm (P. C. 182 Maurice Moran claim) near the river on the present site of the Michigan Stove Works. He was born at Detroit, Feb. 19, 1741, and married Mary Louise Robert, Nov. 11, 1760. She was the daughter of Anthony Robert and lived on the south coast of the river.

<sup>21</sup>This old English woman was Mrs. Turnbull who lived on a distant part of

retourné à Son village, Bien mal content, ce qui importait fort peu à Ses Messieurs. Deux sont entrés et sont sortis Mr. Le C. fait avertir les français de se tenir chez eux.

Pondiak enragé devoir que le dernier Stratagème avait manqué et que tous projets étaient échoué, en entrant dans son village, pris un casse teste à la main et chanta La guerre, disant que puisqu'il ne pouvait pas frapé dans Lefort sur Les anglais qu'il fallait frapé Sur ceux qui étaient dehors le fort, et ordonna que tous son monde, hommes, femmes et enfans, traversassent La rivière sur Le mesme costé que Le fort, pour être plus a porté de Linquiéter Et que Lon dressa son Camp dans La rivière à Mr. Baptiste Meloche a une demie Lieux au dessus du fort, ce qui fut fait ponctuellement, il divisa Ses gens en plusieurs Bandes pour frapé En différents endroits, une Bande fut frapé à douze arpents derrière Le fort où demeuroient une vielle anglaise avec Ses deux garçons qui faisaient valloir Environ sept ou huit arpens de terre à leurs compte et qui avaient Beaucoup de Beste a corn, Comme bocufs et vaches, les pauvres gens qui ne pensaient à rien furent tué, Leurs chevelure Levë, Leurs butin pillé, Le maison mis en feux, à voir ce terrible spectacle que Le feu était de la partie avec Les Sauvages, Les corps mort furent à demi Brulé dans La maison, Les Sauvages tuèrent une partie des animaux et enmenèrent Le reste dont quelqu'un S'echapèrent dans Les bois et furent ramassé par des habitants dans Les Costes. ,

Pendant que ces premiers fesaient le carnage L'autre Bande fut dans L'isle au cochon où étaient établi un

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the Common. Maj. Gladwin had granted her a piece of land for her residence. The Indians ate her body. *Lanman's History of Michigan*, p. 106.

<sup>22</sup>Belle Isle.

<sup>23</sup>James Fisher, his wife and two children, and some accounts say four soldiers and a servant, were living on the island. They were surprised and murdered. Some Frenchmen obtained permission to go to the island and bury the bodies, and Mr. and Mrs. Fisher were buried in the same grave. The story runs that on the following day the Frenchmen crossed again and on passing the grave saw Fisher's hand sticking out. They buried it and in a few days found it again out. Upon this they informed the Priest, Father Simple Bocquet, who returned with them to the island and re-interred the hand. This time it remained covered. *Mr. Peltier's account of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vol. VIII.*

lish army. This man with his family of five or six persons was working for half the profit a little farm which the English officers had appropriated for themselves. These good people, thinking of nothing but their work, became at a moment when they least expected it victims of the fury of the Indians who fell upon the man and scalped him; they wanted to carry his wife away prisoner because she was pretty, but she would not go, saying that since her husband was dead she wished to die with him. They killed her and her woman servant, and carried off the two little children to their village to be slaves<sup>24</sup>.

A Frenchman by the name of Goslin<sup>25</sup> who was working on the island squaring building timbers had not been informed of what was about to happen to Fisher. Upon hearing the cries of the Indians as they landed on the island, he thought to save himself from the danger which seemed to threaten him as much as the English; he was caught upon the beach by the Indians who put him in a canoe and told him to stay there, saying that he had nothing to fear for himself as they did not intend to do him any harm. He did not believe it nor want to stay where they had put him. His unbelief cost him dear, for, upon trying to escape into the depths of the island, the Indians took him for some fleeing Englishman; they ran after him and killed him, and when they were upon the point of scalping him they recognized that it was a Frenchman. They placed him in their canoe and gave him to the French who buried him in the cemetery.

About four o'clock in the afternoon an inhabitant of the east shore, Mr. Desnoyers<sup>26</sup>, who had gone to the pine woods sixty miles above the fort to fell building timber, returned with the Chippewas of Saginaw who escorted him.

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<sup>24</sup>The Fisher children were later given over to Mr. Peltier who took them to their uncle in the fort. On Oct. 15, 1763, one of these children, Marie Fisher (Fischer), aged about fifteen months, died. *See, Anne's Church Records, Detroit.* According to records in the *Register's Office of Detroit, Vol. A, p. 91*, Alexis Cuillerier, son of Antoine, shortly after the war was over, was accused by one Jean Myer, of having drowned one of the Fisher children. He was tried by a military tribunal at Detroit, and the commandant expelled him from the village and banished him from the community. Later developments ended in a new

nommé ficher, ancien sergent des troupes anglaises. Cette homme avec sa famille qui composait cinq à Six personnes faisaient valoir à motier profit un bien que ses messieurs setaient apropié, les bonnes gens qui ne pensoient qu'à Leurs travaille, devinrent à l'heure qu'ils y pensoient Le moins Les tristes victimes de la fureur des sauvages qui tomberent en premier sur L'homme Lui Levèrent La chevelure, Et voulurent emmené sa femme prisonnière parce qu'elle était jolie, elle ne voullû Les suivre disant que puisque Son mari était mort quelle voulait mourir avec Luy, ils Latuèrent avec Sa Servante Et emmenèrent ses deux petits enfants à leur Camp pour être Leurs esclave. Un français nommé Goslin qui travaillait dans Lisle a Ecarir du bois de Construction et qui n'était pas prévenu de ce qui devait arrivé à ficher, En attendant Les Cris que fesaient les sauvages en débarquant dans Lisle, voullû Se Sauvé du danger qui semblait Le menacé, egalement comme les anglais fut arrêté sur le bord de la grève par Les Sauvages qui le mirent dans un Canôt et lui dirent de rester qu'il n'y avait rien à craindre pour Luy qu'ils ne vouloient pas Luy faire du mal, il fut incrédule et ne voulu point resté ou Les Sauvages Lavaient mis, son incrédulite Luy couta chère parce que voulant se sauver dans La profondeur de Lisle Les Sauvages Le prirent pour un anglais qui Se Sauvait, Coururent après et Le tuèrent et quand ils furent pour Lui Levé la chevelure, ils reconnurent que c'était un français, L'embarquèrent Dans Leurs canots et Le donnèrent aux français qui L'enterrèrent dans le Cimétiere.

Sur les quatre heures après midy, un habitant de la Coste de L'Est nommé Mr. Desnoyers qui étaient allé à la pinière à vingt cinq Lieux audessus du fort pour

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investigation which cleared Cuillerier of the crime and on June 4, 1769. Capt. George Turnbull had him recalled. This was not done until all the facts had been laid before Gen. Gage and his consent had been obtained.

<sup>25</sup>This was Francois Goslin, who came from the parish of St. Thomas, diocese of Quebec. He was about thirty years old. *St. Anne's Church Records, Detroit.*

<sup>26</sup>Peter Desnoyers was a master carpenter and lived on the south side of the river at one time near the Ottawa village and at another near the Huron village.

Through him one learned of the death of two officers, one of whom was Mr. Robinson<sup>27</sup>, ship captain, the other a Sir Knight<sup>28</sup> and colonel of militia. These two gentlemen, acting under orders of the Commandant, had gone with ten soldiers and a Pawnee servant to sound the channels to see if there was enough water for a vessel to pass in case of need. When they left the Fort they had heard nothing about the wicked designs of the Indians and they travelled peacefully along, thinking themselves quite safe. As they were passing to the right of the pine woods the Frenchmen who were working there and had been warned of the evil intentions of the Indians toward the English called to them to put them on their guard. They turned in but would not believe what the French told them, saying that when they left the Fort everything was quiet. The Frenchmen warned them again and again and advised them not to go further, as the Indians would prevent them and they would better return to the Fort, but they would not listen to the warnings and went on their way. They encountered some Indians encamped upon a point at the edge of the river, and these seeing them pass called to them and showed them some meat and other supplies to entice them. Still they would not halt there and this offended the Indians who pursued and killed them, with the exception of a young man<sup>29</sup> fifteen or sixteen years old and the Pawnee, whom they took to make slaves of.

<sup>27</sup>This name appears as Robinson, Robson and Robertson. *Rutherford* in his narrative calls him Capt. Charles Robson of the 77th, who had command of the King's ships upon Lake Erie.

*W. C. Ford*, in his list of *British Officers serving in America in 1754-1774*, gives Lieut. Charles Robertson of the 77th (or Montgomery's Highlanders), who was commissioned Sept. 15, 1758.

*Canadian Archives A. 17, p. 116*, states that Lieut. Robertson, of Montgomery's regiment, was to command a schooner drawing seven feet, loaded and carrying six guns. 1761.

In 1761, Sir William Johnson mentions seeing Capt. Robinson sounding in Niagara River. In 1762 Robertson came to Detroit, where he was employed sounding the lake and river. Here he is also called Robinson. Both Robertson and Brehm sent in reports of their soundings. Early in the spring of 1763, Robertson made up a party, consisting of John Rutherford (a boy of seventeen), Sir Robert Davers, who joined the party out of curiosity, a Pawnee slave, two sailors and six soldiers. They left Detroit on May 2nd, before any Indian troubles were discovered, to sound the lake and St. Clair River. They were overtaken by Indians on the 6th. Robertson and Davers were killed and Rutherford made captive. *Rutherford's Narrative, Trans. Canad. Inst., Vol. III, p. 229; Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vol. XIX, p. 165; Johnson's Life by Stone.*

<sup>28</sup>Sir Robert Davers was the eldest son of Sir Jermyn Davers, of Suffolk, who died Jan. 22, 1743, leaving Sir Robert the head of the family. He lived at Rossbrooke or Rushbrook in Suffolk. He traveled all over Europe and became interested in the lakes of America, making Detroit a visit in Feb., 1762. Donald Campbell wrote in one of his letters to Bouquet that he had arrived in Detroit

couper du bois de batisse, revint avec les sauteurs du Saginaw qui L'amènèrent L'on Sçu par Luy La mort de deux officiers qui étaient L'un Mr. Robinson, capitaine des barques et l'autrè Mr. Le Chevalier, Colonelle de milice. Ses deux Mrs. avaient été par ordre de Mr. le Commandant avec dix Soldats et un panis pour Sonder Les cheneaux pour voir S'il y aurait assez d'eau pour passer un barque en cas de besoin, ces messieurs qui en partant du fort n'avoient nullement entendu parlé du mauvais dessein des Sauvages, voyois tranquillement Se croyant Bien sure, comme ils passoient au droit de la pinière, Les français qui y travailloient et qui étaient prevenus de la mauvaise intention des Sauvages contre L'anglois les appellèrent pour les avertir, ces messieurs y furent mais ils ne voulurent point croire ce que Les français Leur disaient, disant aux français que quand ils étaient partis du fort tout étaient Bien tranquil, Les français Les avertir encore de rechef, et Leurs conseillaient de ne pas aller plus Loing que Les sauvages Les défferaient et qu'ils feroient mieux de s'en retourné au fort, ils ne voullurent point ecouté Les avertissements, prirent Leurs routes pour aller plus Loing, ils rencontrèrent des sauvages qui étaient Campé Sur une pointe Sur le Bord de la rivière qui Les voyant passe Les appelerent Leurs montrant de la viande et autre denrée pour Les amorcé. Ses messieurs ny voullurent point allé, ce qui choqua Les Sauvages qui coururent après eux et Les

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and intended spending the winter there and making a tour of the lakes in the spring. Alexander Henry mentions him in his travels. Davers spent the winter of 1762-3 at Detroit and early in May met his death while out with Robertson and Rutherford. *Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetries; Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XVIII, p. 250; Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vol. XIX.*

<sup>20</sup>Lieut. John Rutherford, of the 42nd or Blackwatch, was born in Scarborough, Yorkshire, in 1746. His father died in the Barbadoes when he was an infant and he was reared by his grandfather, Sir John Rutherford, in Scotland. He came to America at an early day and was sent by his uncle, Walter Rutherford, to Fort Detroit, in charge of some military stores and supplies. He joined the party with Lieut. Robertson and Davers and was the only survivor of the trip who gave any account of it. After being attacked by the Indians, he was taken prisoner May 6th, and because of his youth, was adopted into the family of a Chippewa Chief, Perwash. His life was thus spared and by his good behavior he was soon allowed much freedom. After the killing of Campbell he made his escape, with the assistance of a Frenchman, Boileau. During his captivity he saw Paully, Campbell and McDougall. He was befriended by the family of Quilleim (Cuillerier). Ten days after his return to the fort he took charge of a vessel which was to sail to Niagara for provisions. On the way the vessel sprung a leak and they found it necessary to go ashore where they were molested by the Indians. They were finally able to reach Niagara and there Rutherford resolved to give up the fortunes of war. He lived in New York with his uncle for a while and then joined the 42nd in which he served thirty years. He died at Jedburgh, Jan. 12, 1830, aged eighty-four years. *Rutherford's Narrative Trans. Canad. Inst., Vol. III, pp. 229-252; Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publ., VI, p. 38.*

The two Ottawa bands who had made the attack in the two places I have described, acting under the orders of Pontiac, their chief, came back to camp after their exploit and related with gusto all the circumstances of their cruel expedition, among other things the death of Goslin<sup>30</sup> whom they had killed by mistake,—a thing that saddened them for some time.

After hearing this story from his young men, Pontiac called all of his followers together before him in order to take new measures to approach the Fort and attack it without risk to them. This was not very difficult to do, seeing that there were several barns and stables sixty-five yards to the rear of the Fort; they belonged to several private individuals who lived in the Fort.

To the northeast, at the right of the gate, about a hundred feet away, was a big garden with the gardener's house,—the whole property belonging to Mr. La Butte, the interpreter. All these buildings were so many intrenchments in the shelter of which the Indians could approach the Fort without any danger; they had discovered this and had made use of the buildings for some time to annoy the Fort. After these new measures were taken the Indians rested, waiting for the next day in order to begin their attack in a new way.

While the Indians were making their arrangements to harass the Fort, the Commandant ordered the two gates at each end to be closed, not to be opened again till the end of this war, but the one which faced the southwest was opened twice more to permit the cows which belonged to the inhabitants of the Fort to enter, and then it was also closed. The only one left was the one facing the river which was opened from time to time for the public needs, because it was guarded by the sloops which the Indians feared greatly.

On toward six o'clock in the evening Mr. La Butte went

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<sup>30</sup>Goslin. See note 25.



tuèrent, à la réserve d'un jeune homme de quinze a Seize ans et d'un panis qu'ils prirent pour en faire Leurs esclave.

Les deux Bandes de Sauvages outavois qui suivant Les ordres de pondiak leurs chefs avoient été frapé aux deux endroits dont Jay parlé cy dessus, revinrent au Camp après Le coup fait et racontèrent avec emphase toute Les Circontance de Leurs cruelle expedition et entre autre La mort de Goslin qu'ils avoient tué par mégard ce qui les attrista pour quelque moment.

Pondiak après Le récit de ses Jeunes gens fit assemblé tous son monde autour de Luy pour prendre avec lui de nouvelles mesures pour approché du fort et L'attaquer Sans risque pour eux, ce qui n'était pas Beaucoup difficile à faire vüe, que il y avait plusieurs grange, Ecurie, Batis à un arpent derrière Lefort, qui appartenoient à plusieurs particuliers qui demeuroient dans Lefort du Côte du Nord-Es-du fort au droit de la porte, environ à un demie arpent était un grand Jardin avec La maison du Jardinier, Le tout appartenant à Mr. Labutte, L'interprete, tous les bâtimens étaient autant de retranchements a Labry desquels Les Sauvages pouvaient aproché du fort Sans aucun-dangé ce qu'ils avoient bien examiné et qui Leurs servient quelque temps à bien inquiété Lefort, ces dernières dimen-tions prisent chaque Sauvage Se reposa en attendant, Le Lendemain pour recommencer sur de nouveau frais.

Pendant Le temps que Les Sauvages prenoient Leurs arrangements pour inquiéter Lefort, Mr. Le Commandant ordonna que Les deux portes des deux Bouts fussent fermé et condanné pour n'estre plus ouverte que a La finition de Cette guerre, cependant celle qui fait face au Sorouest fut encore ouverte deux fois pour faire entré des vaches qui appartenoit à des domicilié du fort et elle n'ouvrit plus, il n'y eût que celle qui face à la rivière qui fut ouverte de temps en temps pour Les Besoins public parce qu'elle était gardé par Les Barque, que les Sauvages craignaient Beaucoup.

Vers six heures du soir Mr. La Butte fit plusieurs Sorties

out several times by order of the Commandant to placate the Indians and try to pump their secrets out of them. But the Indians, and Pontiac in particular, grew tired of his visits and told him to go back to the Fort and stay there or they would all fall upon him. Seeing that nothing could be gained he went back to the Fort, letting the English hope that the Indians would be more easy to deal with the next day.

In the evening at general orders the Commandant announced that all the English in the Fort, traders and soldiers, should relieve one another at guard duty every six hours on the ramparts all night so as not to be surprised in case of attack at daybreak, which is the hour the Indians usually attack when they are carrying on war. The Commandant himself set the example and spent the night standing sentinel with his officers upon the battery.

May 10. Tuesday.

Following the Commandant's orders the gates remained closed. The Ottawas who believed that they had only to assail the Fort and the English would surrender at their discretion, opened a very violent fire about four o'clock and made the circuit of the Fort as if they wanted to assault it. This frightened the English a little who were not as yet accustomed to the maneuvers of the Indians and had had no time to make any preparations for defense. There were, however, in the Fort three pieces of cannon,—two six-pounders and one three-pounder, also three small mortars which were placed over the gate and were as good as useless. The three-pounder was mounted upon the battery which faced the forest in the rear of the Fort and was almost masked by the buildings beyond; the other two pieces were upon the drill-ground and of no value, since there was no suitable place to mount them for firing. There were in addition only the two sloops which could fire, and these at the most protected only the river front which the Indians were careful not to approach; they kept themselves constantly behind the Fort under cover of the buildings

par ordre de Mr. Le Commandant pour apaiser Les Sauvages et pour tacher de Leurs avoir Leurs secrets en Leurs tirant Les vers du né, mais Les Sauvages et surtout pondiak Se lassa de ses allé et de ses venû Lui dit de se retirer et de ne plus venir ou qu'il fraperoient tous Sur Luy, ne pouvant rien gagné, il se retira dans Le fort faisant espéré à Ses Messieurs que Le Landemain Les Sauvages Seroient plus facile a parlé. Mr. Le Commandant ordonna Le Soir, a Lordre que tous Les anglois qui estoient dans Le fort, Commerçant et La troupe feroient quart toute la nuit sur Les ramparts pour n'estre pas Surpris en cas d'attaque. A la pointe du jour qui est un heure a laquelle Les Sauvages frape ordinairement quand il vont en guerre, Le Commandant montra exemple et passa La nuit Sur La Battrie et faisant faction avec ses officiers.

10ieme May.—Le Mardy, 10eme de May, suivant Les ordres de Mr. Le Commandant Les portes restèrent fermées. Les Sauvages outavois qui croyois que venant assailir Lefort, Ses messieurs se rendroient à Leurs discretions, vinrent sur Les quatre heures du matin faire un feu des plus violent et faire des Courses autour du fort, Comme S'ils eussent voullû monter à Lassaut, ce qui intimida un peu Ses Messieurs qui n'étoient pas encore affaite de La manoeuvre des Sauvages Et qui n'avaient pas eû Le temps de rien préparer pour la deffendre Il y avait cependant dans Le fort trois pièces de canon, deux pièces de fil et une de trois et trois mortiers à grenades royales qui étaient placé au dessus de la porte comme des meubles inutiles. La pièce de trois était monté sur La Batterie dans Le derrière du fort qui faisoient face aux bois et qui était presque masqué par Les Batimens qui étoient derrière Lefort, Les deux autres pièces étoient Sur La place d'armes Comme inutile n'ayant point de lieux propre à Les mettre pour Battre, il niavoient que Les deux Barques qui battoient et qui toute fois en deffendoient que Laface de la rivière, ou Les Sauvages se donnais Bien de garde d'approché se tenant toujours derrière Lefort a couvert des Batimens et

and in the clearing of a bluff which commanded the Fort, and at the bottom of which the Fort was built, so that the place was defended rather by the courage and intrepidity of the besieged than vanquished by the besiegers who kept up their fire only until about ten o'clock. They were content to shoot from a distance because they had not much ammunition, hoping when they had got hold of some to begin the onslaught again.

The Commandant, seeing that the fire of the Indians had nearly ceased, ordered Mr. La Butte to go out and talk to them. Mr. Chapoton<sup>31</sup> who lived in the Fort joined Mr. La Butte to go to the camp of the Indians. With the Commandant's permission several other residents of the Fort seized this occasion to retire to the settlers along the shores, giving as an excuse that they did not want to witness the death of the English.

La Butte and Chapoton set out and on the way took Jacques Godfroy<sup>32</sup> who did not object to going with them inasmuch as it was for the security of the public, hoping that three persons whom the Indians knew and loved would placate them the more easily. The latter two of these three gentlemen talked with the Indians without showing that they represented the interests of the English<sup>33</sup>. They were listened to very well, or well, at least, to all appearances, which led Mr. La Butte to believe that all would turn out right. Leaving Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton with the Indians, he returned to the Fort to tell the Commandant that matters were going well and that he had left Godfroy and Chapoton with the Indians to continue the parley. He

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<sup>31</sup>Dr. Jean Chapoton, who came to Detroit as early as 1719 to serve as official surgeon of the garrison of Fort Pontchartrain, had two sons living at the time of the siege—Jean Baptiste, who was born June 17, 1721, and Anthony Alexis, born June 13, 1744. Jean Baptiste was a captain of militia and a man of some importance in the village, and it is more than probable that it was he who joined the interpreter upon this errand.

<sup>32</sup>Jacques Godfroy was a trader and officer of the militia. He had married a sister of Chapoton, (Marie) Louise Clotilde, in 1758. His first wife was Frances L'Eveille, an Indian woman. His second wife died Sept. 18, 1762, and in recognition of his valuable services as interpreter for the Indians, he received, according to the Indian fashion, the favorite daughter of a Miami chief, as his third wife. He resided in the village of Detroit until the summer of 1761, when he moved to his farm on the northeast coast. During Pontiac's siege he openly took the side of the Indians, capturing a trader and aiding in the taking of Fort Miami. As he had taken the oath of allegiance to the British crown,

dans Laclerrière d'un Côteau qui Commandait Lefort et au pied duquel Lefort était Batis, de sorte que Laplace était plutôt deffendu par Le Courage et L'intrépidité des assiégé qu'il n'était Battue par Les assiegeans qui ne firent duré La force de Leurs feux que jusque vers dix heures, tout au plus se contentant de tiré de Loing en Loing parce qu'ils n'avoient pas beaucoup d'amunitions, espérant qu'après en avoir decouvert, recommencé La charge.

Mr. Le Commandant voyant que le feu des Sauvages étoient presque éteint ordonna à Mr. La Butte de sortir pour Leur parlé, Mr. Chapoton domicilié du fort Se jorgnât à Mr. La Butte et sortir pour aller au Camp des sauvages, plusieurs domiciliés Se saisirent de cette occasion avec L'approbation de Mr. Le Commandant pour se retirer dans Les Côtes chez Les habitans pour n'estre pas Spectateur de la prétendue mort de ses Messieurs, Mrs. La Butte et Chapoton poursuivent Leurs routes et Sur Leurs chemin prirent Mr. Jacques Godfroy, qui ne fit point de difficulté de ce joindre a eux, vu que c'était pour La tranquillité du public, Espérant que trois personnes qui étoient connûent et aimée des Sauvages Les appaiseroient plus aisément. Les deux derniers de ces trois Messieurs parlèrent aux sauvages sans faire connaître qu'ils prenoient Les interest de ses Messieurs, Les anglois, ils furent assé Bien écouté ou du moins en apparence ce qui fit croire à Mr. La Butte que tout irait Bien par La Suite et qui Laissant Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton avec Les sauvages, revint au fort dire à Mr. Le Commandant que Les affaires avec Les sauvages étaient en Bon train, qu'il avait Laissé Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton auprès des sauvages pour continuer

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in 1760 he was arrested and sentenced to be hanged for treason. Bradstreet pardoned him on condition that he would conduct Capt. Morris safely to and from the Illinois country, being his guide and interpreter. After returning to Detroit he continued to live there and was greatly esteemed. He became one of the wealthiest of the French colonists. His son fought under George Rogers Clark during the Revolution. *Early Western Travels by Thwaites, Vol I, p. 302; Denisen's Genealogies, MMS.*

<sup>30</sup>The French were supposed to be neutral in this war, but many of them were forced to take a stand. La Butte, as interpreter, maintained his position as long as possible, but was finally compelled to seek protection in the fort. Jacques Godfroy openly assisted the Indians. See *Declaration of Caesar Cormick, made July 11, 1763, Mich. Pion. Colls., Vol. XXII, pp. 632-3.*

hoped that the English would get out of the difficulty at the cost of some presents. Mr. La Butte thought he knew the Indian mind and did not perceive that he was mistaken in his expectations, and that the Indians, Pontiac in particular, knew how to conceal their real intentions with fine words.

Mr. Campbell, second in command, who desired and loved nothing so much as peace and concord begged Mr. La Butte in the name of Mr. Gladwyn, commander-in-chief, to be good enough to return to Pontiac's camp to help Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton complete their work of quenching the fires of sedition and the re-establishment of peace between the two parties. Mr. La Butte promised to do whatever he could, and returned to the camp where he found Chapoton and Godfroy who had not quitted Pontiac through hope of winning him over. Mr. La Butte joined them to do what the commanders had urged him.

Pontiac, shrewd and deceitful, appeared to acquiesce in what these three gentlemen asked of him, and to convey the impression that he consented to peace and union, he sent Mr. La Butte and some Indians to the Fort to speak as his representatives to the commanders. This he did to get rid of Mr. La Butte whom he was beginning to suspect.

The Indians to the number of six or seven entered the Fort with Mr. La Butte. They saluted the commanders and the officers who shook hands with them in welcome. The Indians spoke in the name of their chief and were heard; they in turn seemed to listen to what the commanders said to them through Mr. La Butte. After some minutes of conversation they asked for bread, and were given as much as they could carry away.

While the Indians were parleying within the Fort, someone started a rumor that Col. Bouquet<sup>34</sup> was about to arrive

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<sup>34</sup>Henry Bouquet was born in Rolle, Switzerland, in 1719, and first entered the Dutch service, afterward that of Sardinia and again served for Holland as lieutenant-colonel of Swiss guards. In 1756 he entered the English service and became colonel of the 60th foot, Feb. 19, 1762; brigadier-general in 1765. In 1763 he was ordered to the relief of Fort Pitt and on August 5th of that year defeated the Indians at Bushy Run. In Oct., 1764, he led an expedition against the Ohio Indians in which he was successful. He died of a fever in Pensacola, Florida, Sept. 2, 1765. A collection of his papers, letters and journals is in the

de Leurs parlé et qu'il esperait que Mrs. Les anglois en seroient quitte pour quelque présent qu'ils Leur feroient.

Mr. La Butte qui croyait connaître L'intérieur des Sauvages ne S'appercevoit pas qu'il était trompé dans son attente et que Les Sauvages surtout pondiak sçavoient faciné Leur Mauvais fond par de Belle parole.

Mr. Cambel, Second Commandant qui n'aspirait et n'aimait que La tranquillité et le Bon accord pria Mr. La Butte, au nom de Mr. Gladouine, Commandant en chef, de vouloir Bien retourné au Camp de pondiak pour aider à Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton aparachevé Leurs ouvrages, En étouffant Le feu de la sedition et remettre la paix entre Les deux parties, ce que Mr. La Butte, promis autant Comme il en dependrait de luy, retourne au Camp où il trouva Mrs. Chapoton et Godfroy qui n'avaient pas quitté pondiak pour pouvoir L'emmener á Leurs but, Mr. La Butte se réjoignis à eux pour faire ce que Mrs. Les Commandants Luy avoient Dit.

Pondiak en fin et dissimilé paru adhoré à tous ce que ses trois messieurs exigeaient deluy et pour faire croire qu'il consentait à la paix et à l'union renvoya Mr. La Butte au fort avec des sauvages pour parlé aux Commandans de sa part, ce qu'il en faisait était pour se deffaire de Mr. La Butte, qui commençait a Luy devenir Suspect.

Les Sauvages au nombre de six ou Sept. entrèrent dans Le fort avec Mr. La Butte.

Furent salué Mrs. Les Commandans et Les officiers qui Leurs firent Bon accueil Leurs donner La main, Les Sauvages parlèrent au nom de leurs chefs et furent écouté, eux mesme parurent écouté ce que Mrs. Les Commandants Leurs faisaient dire par Mr. La Butte après quelques moments d'entretien ils demandèrent du pain, ce qui Leurs fut donné autant qu'ils en pouvaient porté.

Pendant Le tems que Les Sauvages étaient dans le fort

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*Canadian Archives.* Several of these have been printed in the *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIX. Others may be found in the *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, Series 4, Vols. 9 and 10; *Letters and Papers relating to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, Philad. 1855; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vols. III, XXXII and XXXIII.

with two thousand troops. At this false news the Indians, without concluding anything, asked permission to withdraw to carry this information to their chief. The gate was opened for them and they returned alone to their camp and related the news to Pontiac, who instead of being astonished said very plainly that the English had lied and had started the rumor merely to frighten them. He had Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton retire from the camp for some time, telling them that he would call them after he had spoken to his people about what they had come to say to him. He did this in order to have a chance to ponder at his leisure over some other wicked design.

About five o'clock in the afternoon Pontiac summoned Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton and several other Frenchmen to his camp to tell them that he had mollified his young men and that they would consent to a peace, but in order to conclude it properly they would feel flattered to speak with Mr. Campbell, second in command, in his camp, because they had known him for three years in command at the fort and regarded him as their brother. Nevertheless the savage had concealed in his breast a dagger which was destined to be fateful to this honest man.

The Frenchmen who did not know what Pontiac had in his mind and believed that he spoke frankly, told him they would willingly do their best to bring Mr. Campbell there if he would agree to let him return without insult when they should have completed their parley. He promised this,—it did not cost him anything to promise! And in order to the better cover his wickedness he ordered the pipe of peace brought to them as a guaranty of what he and his people said to them. The French, particularly Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton, allowed themselves to be caught in the trap which Pontiac set for them as well as for the English.

While the Indians were concocting this new plot, a



à parlé L'on fit courir une gazette qui rapportait que Mr. Le Colonel Bouquet allait incessamment arrivé avec deux milhomme de troupe, sur le faux Bruit Les sauvages sans autre conclusion demandèrent a sortir pour porter Cette nouvelle à Leurs chefs. La porte Leurs fut ouverte et s'en retourner, Seul à Leurs Camp et racontèrent Cette nouvelle à pondiak qui Sans S'étonné, dit tout net, que Les anglais avaient mentis Et qu'il fesait courir le Bruit pour Les épouvanté.

Il fit retiré du Camp Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton pour quelque temps Leurs disant qu'il Les appelerait quand il aurait parlé à ses gens de ce qu'ils venaient de luy dire. Ce qu'il en fesoit était pour rêvé à Loisir sur quelque autre mauvais desseins. Sur Les cinq heures après midi, pondiak fit venir à Son Camp Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton et plusieurs autres français pour leur dirent qu'il avait apaisé. Ses jeunes gens et qu'ils Consentaient à La paix, mais que pour Bien La Conclurent ils seraient flaté de parlé à Mr. Cambel Second Commandant, dans son camp, parce qu'il le connaissait depuis trois ans, qu'il Commendait Lefort ils Le regardaient Comme Leurs frères, mais Le Barbare cachait dans son Sein un poignard qui devait Estre funeste a cet honneste homme.

Les français qui ne Sçavoient pas ce qu'il avait dans L'intérieur et qui croyaient qu'il parlait avec franchise Luy dirent que volontiers qu'ils se faisaient fort de le Luy emmené qu'il voullû Leurs permettre de le Laissé S'en retourné Sans insulte quand ils auraient finis, il Leurs promis, cela ne Luy coutait rien à promettre. Et pour mieux Couvrir sa malignité, il Leur donna Le calumet de paix, Comme une preuve certaine de ce que Luy Et ses gens Leurs disaient, Les français et surtout Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton se Laissèrent surprendre dans Les pieges que pondiak Leurs tendoient également Comme aux anglois.

Dans le tems que Les Sauvages machinoient Cette Nou-

Frenchman named Mr. Gouin<sup>35</sup> who had accidentally divined what was in the minds of the Indians because of several interviews with Pontiac in which he had not detected anything favorable to the English, and who had some presentiment of what was going to happen to Mr. Campbell, begged a Frenchman passing by his house to go to the Fort and warn Mr. Campbell of what was brewing at the camp and ask him not to leave the Fort nor trust in the fine words of a treacherous savage.

In the meantime the Frenchmen started on the way back to the Fort, thinking that the mere presence of Mr. Campbell would be sufficient to placate the Indians. Mr. Gouin who saw them coming from afar, and fearing that a first warning would not be enough, begged Mr. Mauran<sup>36</sup> to whom he explained the situation in a few words to run and again warn these gentlemen not to go out. Mr. Mauran did this. He came in all haste to the Fort to inform these gentlemen in detail of all that Mr. Gouin had told him, and he implored Mr. Campbell with tears in his eyes not to leave, saying if he went to the camp he would never return.

In the meantime Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton arrived at the Fort with several Frenchmen with them, and related to the English the fine words of Pontiac and showed the pipe of peace which they had brought. The pipe and the fine words made upon them all the impression which Pontiac had promised himself, and the two warnings of Mr. Gouin were rendered useless. Afterward the English wished they had listened to the opinions of others, but it was too late.

Mr. Campbell who was of a character which desired only unity and concord believed that he had only to present himself at the camp to allay the storm, and that his presence for a moment would be more than sufficient to bring

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<sup>35</sup>In a narrative by Charles Gouin, son of Thomas Gouin here mentioned, he claims that Thomas notified the English of the evil designs of Pontiac. He further describes the conspiracy and siege and claims that his father did everything in his power to prevent Campbell from going to Pontiac's camp. Later Gouin, Sr., went to the Illinois to carry on trade with the Indians. He was there when

velle intrigue un français nommé Mr. Guoin qui par hasard avait pénétré L'interieur des Sauvages et qui avait eû avec pondiak plusieurs entretiens où il n'avait rien vû qui fut favorable à Mrs. Les anglois et qui avait quelque pressentiments de ce qui devoit arrivé à Mr. Cambel, pria un français qui passait devant chez Lui pour venir au fort, d'avertir Mr. Cambel de ce qui se passait au Camp, et Le pria de ne pas sortir du fort, de ne pas se fier sur Les belles paroles d'un Sauvage mal intentionné. Cependant Les français se mirent en chemin pour venir au fort, croyant que La présence Seul de Mr. Cambel suffisait pour apaiser Les Sauvages. Mr. Guoin qui Les vit venir de Loing et qui craignait qu'un premier avertissement ne serait pas suffisant pria Mr. Mauran à qui il conta en peu de mots de quoy il etoit question, de Courir aussi pour avertir de rechef Ses Mrs. de ne pas sortir, ce que fit Mr. Mauran, il vint à toute jambe au fort pour raconter a ses Mrs. de fil en aiguille ce que Mr. Guoin Luy avait dit et pria La Larme a L'oeil Mr. Cambel de ne pas sortir et que sil allait au Camp il ne reviendrait plus.

Sur ces entrefaites Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton arrivèrent au fort avec plusieurs français qui Les accompagnoient et rapportèrent à Mrs. Les anglois Les Belles paroles de pondiak et Leurs montrèrent Le Calumet de paix qu'ils avoient apportés avec eux, Le Calumet et les Belles paroles firent sur ses Mrs. tout l'effet que pondiak, S'en était promis et Les deux avertissements de Mr. Guoin devinrent inûtile, ce que Mrs. Les anglois desirèrent depuis avoir écouté au préjudice des autres, mais il n'était plus temps.

Mr. Cambel, qui était d'un caractère qui n'aspirait qu'après l'union et La Concorde crûs qu'il ne dependait plus que de Luy, en se présentant au Camp pour apaiser l'orage et qu'un seul moment de sa présence serait plus que

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Pontiac met his death and was present during the war between the northern Indians and the Peorias, when that nation was destroyed. *St. Anne's Records of Detroit* gives his name Claude Jean Thomas Gouin. He married Marie Joseph Cuillerier dit Beaubien, Jan. 13, 1742.

<sup>86</sup>Mauran: Morand, Moran.

about peace between the two parties. This, added to the urging of Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton who said to him that they would answer for him with their lives, caused him to hesitate no longer. He set out, accompanied by Mr. MacDougal<sup>37</sup>, officer of troops, Mr. La Butte, and a great number of French from the Fort who followed them, in the belief that the presence merely of this perfectly upright man would bring about the end of the plot; and after his return which ought to follow, so to speak, at once after the conclusion of the council they would be at liberty to go about their business affairs. But they were disappointed in their expectations. Mr. Campbell arrived at the camp where the Indians as soon as they saw him coming made the air resound with the most horrible yells. Pontiac had to make use of all his authority to silence them.

<sup>38</sup>Pontiac went to meet Mr. Campbell, took him by the hand and greeted him. To conceal his duplicity the better he asked him to be seated near him, adding that he was delighted to see him for he esteemed him like a Frenchman, and he and his followers were going to open negotiations.

For a good hour Mr. Campbell and his officers sat there without the Indians speaking of anything, from which he began to draw an evil augury for his errand. He remarked this to the Frenchmen who had brought him, and they replied that according to the promise of Pontiac he would be free to return whenever he wished. He already wanted to do this. Beginning to feel annoyed he had Pontiac informed that since there was nothing to talk over he was

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<sup>37</sup>MacDougal: Lieut. George McDougall, Sr., came to Detroit in 1761 and obtained possession of Ile au Cochon (Belle Isle) before Pontiac's siege. After the war was over he still claimed the island and cultivated it. In 1763 a dispute arose over its possession, but McDougall was allowed to occupy it. At that time he obtained a deed of it from the Ottawas and Chippewas and in consideration for it paid them "5 barrels of rum, 3 rolls of tobacco, 3 pounds of vermilion and a belt of wampum and 3 barrels of rum and 3 pounds of paint when possession is taken." This was of the value of 194 £. The island remained in the possession of the family until a few years ago, when it was purchased by the city of Detroit for the sum of \$200,000 and is now the largest park the city owns. In 1763 McDougall married Marie Francoise Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre, royal notary under the French regime and acting in the same capacity after the conquest by England. During the Revolution he served as captain in the 84th Regiment. Ill health compelled him to resign in 1780. He sold his

suffisant pour avoir La paix entre Les deux parties joint aux instances que firent Mrs. Godfroy et Chapoton Luy disant qu'ils repondraient de Luy, corps pour corps, ne fit plus aucune difficulté d'aller au Camp, Et sortis accompagné de Monsieur Magdougall, officier de troupe, de Mr. La Butte et d'un grand nombre de français du fort qui Les suivirent croyant qu'effectivement La présence de ce parfait honnête homme serait La fin de cette Cabale et qu'après son retour quy devait être soit disant immédiatement après Le Conseil ils auraient La Liberté de vaquer a Leurs affaires, mais ils furent trompé dans leurs attentes, Mr. Cambel, arriva au Camp ou Les Sauvages Le voyant venir firent retentir Les airs des cris Les plus affreux, il fut Besoin pour Les faire taire de toute L'autorité que pondiak avait sur eux.

Pondiak fut au devant de Mr. Cambel Lepris par L'air en Le saluant pour mieux Caché sa félonnie, Le fit asseoir auprès deluy disant qu'il était charmé de le voir, Le regardant comme un françois que Luy et ses gens allait traité d'affaires, il y fut Bien Luy et Son officier l'espace d'une Bonheure, sans que Les sauvages parlassent de rien, d'où Mr. Cambel, commença a tiré mauvaise augure de ses pas, ce qu'il fit voir aux français, qui L'avait amené, qui Luy répondirent que suivant La parole de pondiak, il serait maître de s'en retourné quand il Le voudrait, ce qu'il voullût faire, Commenant un peu à s'ennuyer fit dire a pondiak que puisqu'il ne parlait de rien il allait sen retourné, pondiak qui Craignait qu'une si bonne proie Lui échapat et qui croyait que retenant ses deux officiers dans

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commission to Patrick Sinclair on April 8, 1780, and died the same day. He left his wife, Marie Françoise, and two sons, John Robert McDougall, born at Detroit, June 3<sup>d</sup>, 1764, who married Archange Campau and George, born in 1766 and never married. *Mich. Pion. Colls.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 287-290.

<sup>28</sup>This meeting took place in the largest room in the house of Mons. Cuillerier. The owner of the house was seated in the middle of the room with a "laced hat and coat" on. He kept his hat on and was treated in every way as though he were some one of high authority. During the council which followed it became evident to Campbell and McDougall that Pontiac looked upon Cuillerier as the Commandant of Detroit during the absence of Bellestre. Pontiac explained to Campbell the terms of peace, saying that the English must lay down their arms and be escorted away from the fort by a number of savages—they would not be allowed to take baggage or arms. *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 641.

going to go back. Pontiac who feared to let slip such a prey and who believed that by holding these two officers in his camp the others would come to his terms, replied that after these two gentlemen had passed two nights with him he would send them back to the Fort. Thus it came that these men handed themselves over as prisoners to the Indians. The Frenchmen of the Fort who had accompanied them returned sadder than when they had set out, for they knew very well that it was a subterfuge by which Pontiac and his followers hoped to circumvent the people of the Fort. When they reached the Fort they recounted to Mr. Gladwyn all that had happened at the camp and how his men were detained,—all of which gave him occasion to think that he would have done better to trust Mr. Gouin than anybody else.

The Pottawattamies who, as I have said, were in league with the Ottawas for the destruction of the English but as yet had not made any great movement about the Fort, in response to Pontiac's orders kept themselves at a distance in the woods and upon the shore of the lake and river in order to stop any of the English who should be marching to the relief of the Fort. They made prisoners of two men whom the commandant<sup>39</sup> at St. Joseph had despatched from his fort with letters for Mr. Gladwyn; they were caught and brought to the camp of Pontiac who had them killed by his men.

Toward eight o'clock in the evening Pontiac sent messengers to the bad Huron band and to the Pottawattamies to inform them of what had just taken place in his camp,—namely, the capture which he had made in retaining the two officers, and the secret word that the next morning at daylight he would go with four of his chiefs and traverse the region below the Fort to give new orders and to get some ammunition. He sent word to Ninivois, chief of the Pottawattamies, that he was to place some twenty of his

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<sup>39</sup>Ensign Frances Schlosser.

son Camp que Les autres viendroit à son but, fit réponse que quand ses deux Mrs. auroient couché deux nuit avec Luy ils Les renvoyeroient au fort ainsy Ses Mrs. furent selivré eux-même prisonniers des sauvages. Les françois du fort qui Les avoient accompagné revinrent plus triste que quand ils étaient partis Jugeant bien que c'était un détours par lequel pondiak et Ses gens espéraient tenir ses Mrs. du fort en bride rentrant dans Lefort racontèrent à Mr. Gladouine, Commandant, tous ce qui setait passé au camp et La detention de se Messieur au Camp, ce qui Luy donna Lieu de croire qu'il aurait mieux fait de croire Mr. Gouin que tous autre.

Les poux qui comme Je l'ay dit étaient de concert avec Les outavois dans La perte de ses Mrs. et qui cependant n'avaient pas encore fait grand mouvement autour du fort Se tenant Suivant Les ordres de pondiak au Loing dans Le Bois et Sur Lebord du Lac et de la rivière pour arrêter tous Les anglais qui seroient En marche pour venir au fort, firent deux prisonniers qui étaient deux hommes que Le Commandant de St. Joseph avait detaché de son fort pour envoyer y porter des Lettres à Mr. Gladouine, ils furent pris et mené au Camp de pondiak qui Les fit massacré par Ses gens.

Sur Les huit heures du soir, pondiak envoya des Emissaires aux hurons de la mauvaise bande et aux poux pour Leur donner Connaissance de ce qui venait de se passé à son Camp La Capture que Luy avoient faite en retenant ses deux officiers et Leur fit dire que demain de grand matin il irait avec quatre de ses chefs Se promener dans Les Costes au dessous du fort pour donner de nouvelles ordres et pour avoir de La munition et fit dire a Ninivois chef des poux qu'il eu a mettre une vingtaine de ses gens en embuscade auprès du fort afin qu'il ne puisse sortir aucun anglais sans estre pincé.

men in ambush near the Fort so that no Englishman could come out without being nabbed.

May 11. Wednesday.

Pontiac, like a good general, ordered thirty young men of his band to go and form an ambuscade in the vicinity of the Fort and catch all the English that came out, and from time to time to fire at the little sloop; in the meantime he and the other chiefs would go along the other shore and issue orders for the attack upon the Fort.

His men did as they were told and took up their position on the outskirts situated northeast of the Fort about one hundred and fifty yards distant. This made a good intrenchment for them. During this time, Pontiac, followed by four chiefs, Mackatepecite, Breton, Chavoignon, and his nephew, went around through the woods behind the Fort and passed down into the section southwest of the Fort, and a little below. They visited all the French settlers, but chiefly those who were engaged in trade, and commanded them in a harangue to give them powder and balls, saying that if they did not wish to supply them they would plunder them of goods and all, urging as a sufficient reason that they did not need any longer to fear the English who were not in a condition to harm them any; they also declared that all the nations where there were any English in business or in garrison were making a concerted attack upon them; the Chippewas of Saginaw and those of Grand River were coming to join them, and all together they would bar the entrances so that no more English could come to live in their country.

The traders, seeing themselves forced by fine words and threats, were compelled to give the Indians what they demanded in order to have peace; and by giving up part of their powder and balls they saved their property, their houses, and their families. The Pottawattamies who were at the meeting-place in obedience to Pontiac's orders shared in the distribution, and then each left to return to his camp and distribute to their warriors and make arrange-



11eme May.—Le Mercredy, onzième May, pondiak Comme un bon general ordonna a trente jeune gens de sa bande d'aller s'embusquer au environ du fort et de prendre tous les anglois qui sortirais, et de tiré de temps en temps, La petite barque, pendant que Luy et Les autres chefs iraient dans L'autre costé donné des ordres pour L'attaque du fort, Ses gens firent qu'ils venoient de Leurs estre dit et vînrent pour cet effet se placé dans Le fauxbourg qui était Bâti au Nord Est du fort, éloigné environs de deux arpens, ce qui était pour eux un Bon retranchement, pendant ce temps, pondiak Suivis de quatre chef qui étaient maquatepeticite, breton, Chavoinon et de son neveu vinrent par dans le Bois derrière Le fort descendirent dans La Coste Situé au Sorouest du fort un peu audessous, furent chez tous Les habitans principalement chez ceux qui tenaient Commerce Les sommes par une harangue de leur donner de la poudre et des balles et que s'il ne voulait pas Leurs en donné ils Les pilleroient, marchandises et tout, Leur donnant pour Bonne raison qu'ils ne devaient plus rien craindre de la part des anglais qu'ils etoient hors d'état de Leurs faire aucune paine, Leurs faisant entendre que toutes Les nations ou il y avait des anglais en traite ou en garnison frapaient tous générale. Les sauteurs du Saguinaw et ceux de la grande rivière allaient venir Se joindre a eux, que tous ensemble bareroient Les passages pour qu'ils ne viennent plus d'anglois habiter Sur Leurs terres.

Les commerçants Se voyant forcé de belle paroles et demenace furent contraint pour avoir La tranquillité de donner aux Sauvages Ce qu'ils demandaient Et par cette abandon d'une partie de leurs poudre et balle ils Conservèrent Leurs butin, Leurs maisons et Leurs famille. Les poux qui Se trouvèrent Suivant Les ordres de pondiak s'étaient trouvé à un rendez-vous eurent Leurs part dans la destribution après quoy chaqu'un se separa pour retourner à Son Camp destribuer La monition à Leurs Soldats et prendre des mesures pour l'attaque du Landemain,

ments for the attack of the following day. All this day the people in the Fort were quite undisturbed, the Indians not molesting them; this led a good many who were domiciled in the Fort to ask permission of the commander to leave, and it was granted them. They withdrew with their families to the settlers along the shores, abandoning their houses and a part of their goods in the hopes that the tragic events would not last more than a few days.

Pontiac crossed the river in the afternoon with four chiefs, and went to hold a council with the Hurons in order to induce the good band to combine with them, saying that if they did not they would be attacked. The latter had not stirred from their cabins up to the present and looked with disfavor upon what was happening. Still, seeing themselves threatened and crowded so closely, and in view of the fact that they were weak, they were compelled to agree to do what the rest demanded, and promised that after mass the next day they would join the Pottawattamies in the attack; they could not do so sooner because the approaching festival was too important, and without having heard mass it would be nothing but foolhardiness. Pontiac consented to delay that long, and ordered that the firing should be held back to wait for the Hurons.

May 12. Thursday; Feast of the Ascension of our Lord.

Pontiac who knew neither feast nor Sunday and regarded all days as alike, not making profession of any religion, early in the morning ordered all his men to hold themselves ready so that as soon as the Hurons came they could attack all together. For fear that the Hurons would not keep their word he sent one of his chiefs with several young men to their camp to tell them not to fail, and as soon as their missionaries had finished service to come and join the Pottawattamies, as he only awaited their arrival to attack. The Hurons promised and kept their word.

Although Pontiac was waiting for the Hurons in order to begin the attack upon the Fort, still he had some of his men advance in order to take possession of the barns

toute cette journée ses Messieurs furent assez tranquille dans Le fort n'étant point inquiété par Les sauvages, ce qui occasionna que Beaucoup de domicilier du fort demander à Mr. Le Commandant a Sortir du fort ce qui Leurs fut accordé et ils se retirèrent dans Les Coste chez Les habitans avec leur familles, abandonnant Leurs maison et une partie de Leurs butin espérant que le tragique évènement n'aurait qu'une passé de quelque jours.

Dans L'après midy, pondiak traversa La rivière avec quatre chefs et furent tenir Conseil chez les hurons pour engagner La Bonne bande et se mettre avec eux, ou bien qu'ils fraperoient Sur eux, ces derniers qui jusqu'à présent n'avoient pas Encore Branlé de leur cabane et qui regardoient tous ce qui se passaient d'un mauvais oeil se voyant menacé et Séré de siprès, joint à ce qu'ils étoient foible de monde, furent contraint de Consentir à faire ce que Les autres exigeait d'eux et promirent que Le Landemain après La Messe ils Se joindroit avec Les poux pour frapé, ne Le pouvant pas plustôt à cause que cestait trop grande feste et que il serait de valeur sans avoir entendu La messe, pondiak Consenti a attendre jusqu'à ce temps et ordonna que Le feux serait retardé pour attendre Les hurons.

12ieme May.—Le Jeudi 12e de May, jour de la feste de Lascencion de nôtre Seigneur, pondiak qui ne connaissait ni feste, ni dimanche, que tous Les jours Lui était Egaux, ne faisant profession d'aucune S. religion ordonna dès Le matin que Ses gens Se tinrent près pour quand Les hurons viendrait pour frapé tous ensemble. Et craignant que Les hurons Luy manquassent de parole, il envoya un de Ses chefs avec plusieurs jeunes gens chez eux pour Leur dirent de ne pas manqué Sitôt que Leurs missionnaires auroient fini de venirent sejoindre aux pax et qu'il n'attendaient que Leurs arrivé pour frapé. Les hurons Leurs promirent et Leurs tins La parole—quoy que pondiak attendissent Les hurons pour faire commencer L'attaque du fort il avait fait néanmoins avancer Ses gens pour

and stables around the Fort from the rear, so as to be ready to make an onslaught at the first signal and hinder anybody's leaving.

Teata<sup>40</sup> and Baby<sup>41</sup>, both chiefs of the good Hurons, who had preserved neutrality up to the present time and would have liked to do so longer, seeing themselves coerced by threats, ordered their band about sixty men in number to assemble, and they thus addressed them:

"My brothers, you see as well as we do the risks that we are running, and that in the present state of affairs we have nothing else to do but to side either with our brothers, the Ottawas and the Pottawattamies, or else abandon our lands and flee with our wives and children—a rash thing to do. We would hardly get started to leave before the Ottawas and the Pottawattamies, and even those of our own nation, would fall upon us and kill our wives and children and then compel us to assist them. Instead of that, by co-operating now, we make sure that our families will be left in peace in our village. We do not know what the designs of the Master of Life towards us may be. Is it He who inspires our brothers, the Ottawas, to war? If it is not He who commands it He will well be able to make his desires known, and we shall yet be able to withdraw without being stained by the blood of the English. Let us do what our brothers demand of us, and spare not."

Immediately after that harangue each chief took a tomahawk and chanted the war-song, and asked his men to do likewise while waiting for the hour of mass; after which their wives sang the mass and they listened with great devotion. When mass was over each one went to his cabin and armed himself with the necessary weapons for the attack, and then they crossed the river in twelve canoes

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<sup>40</sup>Teata also spelled Theata. In Schoolcraft's translation it is written Peatan, clearly a mistake. See note 5.

<sup>41</sup>Baby (Babie) signed the treaty of Fort Niagara, July 18, 1764. His Indian name was Odinghquanooron and he appears to have possessed considerable influence over his tribe.

separé des derrières des granges et des écuries autour du fort pour tous apporté à premier signe et pour empêché que personne ne sorte du fort.

Teata et Baby tous deux chefs de la Bonne bande des hurons, qui Jusque à présent avait gardé La neutralité et qui Laurait voullû La gardé plus Longtemps, se voyant forcé par menace firent assemblé Leurs bande qui composoient autour de soixant hommes et Leur dirent. Mes frères vous voyez tous également comme nous Les risques que nous Courons tous et que dans La Situation oujoint Les affaires nous n'avons plus d'autre ressource ou de nous joindre à nos frères Les Outavois et Les poux ou Bien d'abandonner nos terres et de fuir avec nos femmes et nos enfants, ce qui est bien de valeur, nous ne serons peut estre pas à peine partis pour nous en aller, que Les outavois et Les poux et ceux mesme de nostre nations, tomberons Sur nous et tuerons nos femmes et nos enfans, et encore nous contraindrons de faire Comme eux, aulieu que en Lefaisant aprésent, nous assure que nos familles seront tranquille dans nostre village, nous ne scavons pas quelle sont Les desseins du Maître de La Vie sur nous, peut Estre Esce Luy qui inspire cette guerre à nos frères, Les Outavois, si ce nest pas Luy qui L'ordonne, il sçaura Bien nous faire connaître Sa volonté et nous serons toujours Bien à mesme de nous retiré sans estre taché du sang des Anglois, faisons ce que nos frères exige denous Et ne nous Epargnons point, tant incontinent après cette harangue ils prirent chaqu'un un Casse teste et chantèrent La guerre et invitèrent Leurs gens à en faire autant. En attendant l'heure de Lamesse, que Leurs femmes chantèrent et qu'ils furent entendre Bien devotement. La Messe finit chaqu'un fut à Sa Cabane sarmé de ce qui Leurs étaient nécessaire pour frapé et traversèrent La rivière au nombre de douze Canots, droit chez Les poux qui firent des

straight to the Pottawattamies who uttered yells of joy at seeing them arrive. These cries were a signal to Pontiac of the arrival of the Hurons whose fire was more effective than that of all the other Indians put together.

Ninivois at the head of the Pottawattamies, and Takay and Teata at the head of the Hurons, although without orders, proceeded to invest the Fort on one side, while Pontiac at the head of his men, following the same tactics, invested it on the other side; all acting together they began the attack upon the Fort and the vessels and pushed it vigorously with a heavy fire and without interruption till seven o'clock. All the time the Indians stayed in the shelter of the buildings to escape the fire from the Fort which was not able to harm them, inasmuch as there was but one cannon in fighting condition and it was only poorly supported by the musketry of the garrison. None of the shots did much damage outside the Fort, a fact which the English discovered in time. In order to remedy this and provide a better range for their guns, they tied up with iron wire several spikes in a bundle which they heated red-hot; and loading the cannon on the battery with this they fired it at two barns filled and covered with straw. In less than half an hour they were reduced to ashes. For this reason the Indians withdrew to the shelter of the other side of the slope in order to keep up the firing without risk.

During all this time the two sloops did not spare pains or powder, firing suddenly over the Fort as well as across the two ends of it, opposite which they were moored. Two Indians were killed in this action and two wounded,—one having his thigh broken and the other his arm, both by the same shot discharged toward the rear of the Fort. In this regard the English took care to conceal their killed so that the facts might not come to the knowledge of the Indians. Still it was learned in spite of them that they had several killed in the large sloop,<sup>42</sup> and a good many

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<sup>42</sup>In the *Siege of Detroit by Hough*, May 12th, the author says that the English had but one man slightly wounded in the fort and another on the vessels, whereas the Indians had three or four killed and nine or ten wounded.

cris de Joye de les voir arrivé, et ses mesme cris étoient un signal pour pondiak de la venû des hurons, qui devinrent plus taquin aux feux que tous Les autres Sauvages ensemble. Ninivois à la teste des poux, tacé et téata à la teste des hurons quoy que Sans ordres furent investir Le fort d'un Costé, pondiak à la teste des siens, observant La mesme marche, L'investi de L'autre côté et tous ensemble Commencèrent l'attaque du fort et des barques qui fut poussé vigoureusement par un feu des plus vives qui sans discontinûe dura Jusque à Sept heures du Soir, Se tenant toujours a couvert derrière Les bâtimens pour Eviter Lefeu du fort qui ne pouvait pas Leurs faire grand mal, n'ayant qu'une pièce de canon en Etat de battre et qui était un peu secondé La mousqueterie de la garnison, tous les Coups ne portoient que faiblement au dehors, ces Mrs. s'en apperçurent encore à temps, et pour y remedié à cela et pour que Les coups du fusil portassent mieux, Lièrent en paquet avec du fil de fers plusieurs fiches ensemble qu'ils firent rougir et mirent dans La piece de canon de la batterie et L'envoyèrent sur deux granges qui estoient pleines et couverte de paille qui furent reduit encendre en moins d'une demie heure; ce qui fut cause que Les Sauvages ou du moins Séloignèrent pour se mettre a Couvert de L'autre Côté du Côteau pour continuer Leur feu sans risque: Les deux barque pendant toute cette action, n'épargnèrent point Leurs peines et Leurs poudres, tirant presque à Coup portant tant par dessus Le fort, qui aux deux bout vis à vis desquelles elles étaient mouillés; il y eût dans toute Cette action deux sauvages de tué et deux de blessé. L'un La Cuisse Cassé et L'autre Lebras du mesme coup tous Les deux d'un boulet envoyé derrière Le fort pour ce qui regarde à ce sujet Mrs. Les anglais il ont eûs Soin de cacher Leurs mort afin que cela ne vint point à la Connaissance des sauvages parla L'on a pourtant Sçu comme malgré eux qu'il y en a eu plusieurs detué dans La grosse barque et beaucoup de blessé tant dans Les bar-

wounded on the vessels as well as in the Fort. This was noticed by everybody who was on the inside.

Toward seven o'clock in the evening the fire of the Indians having subsided a little, the Commandant who feared that the Indians under cover of night would attempt either to carry the Fort by assault or set it on fire, issued two orders: first that tubs and barrels should be placed in the streets and upon the ramparts at the four corners of the fort, and that the French to the number of twenty, chosen from those who were voluntarily in the Fort, should fill them by drawing water from the wells; second, in view of the fewness of numbers which rendered defense hopeless, and since to all appearances the expected assistance would not arrive on time, and as there was a lack of supplies of food and ammunition, the French should retire to their houses and put out their fires atattoo, and then the troops should go from the Fort to the sloops to load the goods of the officers, of themselves, and of the traders; and everybody should hold himself in readiness to embark at the first signal in order to fall back upon Niagara.

The night passed very quietly which was an augury for the English that they might hold the place longer than they had hoped, and they regained courage a little to withstand the attack of the Indians.

May 13, Friday.

It is almost a general rule that all the Indians who inhabit these regions are as unstable as the wind, and if they knew they would lose men in making war they would not begin, which sometimes induces them to stop operations as soon as they have begun; frequently, however, this arouses them the more. These, here, as I have said, had some killed and wounded; this induced them to try incantations to see how they might proceed without losing any more and take the fort which, to hear them talk, must surrender sooner or later in spite of the reinforcements which it was claimed were soon to arrive.

May 13.



ques que dans Le fort, ce qui a été vue de tous Le monde qui étais de dans.

Sur Les sept heures du Soir Le feu des sauvages ayant un peu Calmé, Mr. Le Commandant qui craignais qu' à la faveur de la nuit Les sauvages ne fissent quelque tentative ou pour monter Lassaut ou pour mettre Le feu, ordonna deux choses : L'une L'on mit des Cuves et des Bariques au quatre Coin du fort, dans Les rues et sur les ramparts, et que Les français qui étaient resté volontairement dans Le fort au nombre de vingt personnes tirassent de L'eau des puis pour remplir les vaisseaux L'autre comme se voyant faible de monde et qu'il y avait apparence que Le secours qu'il attendait ne viendrait pas encore sitost, et par deffaut de monde hors d'état de soutenir, manquant de provision de guerre et de bouche, que Les français se retiroient chez eux à la retraite Les feux eteint dans Les maisons, Et que la troupe voyageroit du fort aux Barques pour y embarqué Le Butin des officiers et Celui des Commerçans et que tout le monde se tiendraient prest a Embarqué dans Les Barques au premier Signe, pour Se plier a niagara.

La nuit se passa Bien tranquille, ce qui auguré à ces messieurs que ils garderoient La place plus Longtemps qu'ils ne L'esperoient et reprirent un peu Leur Sens pour Soutenir L'attaque du Lendemain.

13<sup>ème</sup> May.—C'est une règle presque général que tous Les Sauvages qui habitent ces contrées sont comme le vent n'allant que par Bouffé, et que Sil Sçavoient perdre du monde en faisant La guerre, ils ne Laferaient pas, ce qui cause Souvent qu'ils finissent aussitôt qu'ils ont commencé, ce qui aussi quelquefois Les anime davantage. Ceux cy comme Je lay dit en avait eû de tué et de blessé, ce qui Le fit jongler pour voir Comme ils sy prendroient pour n'en plus perdre et pour avoir Lefort qui a Les entendre parlé tost ou tard, ne pouvoient pas Leurs fuir par le renfort qui soit disant devoit Leurs venirent dans peu.

13<sup>e</sup> May.—Les sauvages dans l'action de la journée

The Indians in the action of the preceding day had moved about so much that they were tired by night; during the evening they sought rest and slept all night and almost the following forenoon. The Commandant who expected an attack at daybreak had spent the whole night watching with his officers on the ramparts, ready to give orders and afraid of being surprised. When he saw how quiet the Indians were he ordered that their fortifications should be burned down at once. To this end Mr. Hopkins,<sup>43</sup> captain of a new company and a good soldier, made a sortie at the head of forty volunteers armed to the teeth, and proceeded to set fire to the suburbs which, with the exception of two houses the fire could not reach, soon burned. He then immediately returned to the Fort to allow time for another officer to make a similar expedition in another direction. This was undertaken by Mr. Hay<sup>44</sup>, a lieutenant of the American troops, who likewise sallied out with thirty men and set fire to two barns and stables behind the Fort, and then returned at once; they suspected that Pontiac and his Indians, seeing the fires from a distance, would come and fall upon them to cut off their retreat. Fortunately, however, the Indians had

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<sup>43</sup>Capt. Joseph Hopkins came originally from Maryland and had served in the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment. For his services he obtained a captain's commission and raised a company of Independents known as Hopkins' Independent Company of Rangers or Queen's Independent Rangers. This company was sent to Detroit in the fall of 1762. It consisted of four officers, of whom were Lieuts. Abraham Cuyler and Francis Phister, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers and 110 men. (Part of this company started to the relief of Detroit under Lieut. Cuyler in the spring of 1763 and was attacked and routed on Point Pelée.) As soon as they arrived Campbell sent them back to Niagara for the winter, in order to save provisions. Hopkins evidently remained in Detroit. During the siege he took a very active part. He presided at some of the courts of inquiry which investigated the conduct of the French during the siege. At the request of Cuillerier he was one of the few Englishmen who were to be saved if Pontiac succeeded in his plans. At the end of the year (1763) his company was disbanded and the officers put on halfpay. In 1764 he went to England where he was granted a coat of arms by Royal grant, but being disappointed in his expectations he became a "noisy and virulent talker in the coffee house," where he attracted the attention of a French emissary and was induced to change his allegiance to France. In 1766 he wrote to Robert Rogers from Cap Francis, San Domingo, explaining his change and urging Rogers to do likewise. A copy of this letter was sent to Sir William Johnson and played a part in the downfall of Rogers. In this letter he wished to be remembered to Messrs. Reaume and St. Martin and "ma chere Catharine," and asked Rogers to tell "Baube and all my friends the Hurons, Pottawatameys, ye Chippawas, and the Ottawas of the change I've made and if you have an interview with Pontiac take him by the hand for me, and make known to him I serve his Father, the King of France." In the spring of 1768, he received the Cross of Military Merit, in the fall of 1770 was made brigadier-general in the French army and at some time was governor of Aux Cayes. When the American Revo-

précédente s'étoient donné tant de mouvement que Sur Le Soir ils étoient fatigués et cherchèrent a se reposé sur Le soir et dormirent toute La nuit et presque La matinée Mr. Le Commandant qui s'attendoient dès Le petit matin a estre attaqué, Et qui avec les officiers avoient passé toute la nuit a veillé sur Les rampart pour donner Ses ordres et Crainte de surprise voyant La tranquillité des sauvages ordonna que L'on fut promptement a la ruine des retranchements des sauvages par une incendie pour cette effet Mr. Hobquince, capitaine d'une nouvelle Compagnie Et Bon soldat Sortis à la teste de quarante hommes de troupes de Bonne vollonté, armé jusque au dents, furent mettre Lefeu au faubourg, qui fut Bientost consommé a la reserve de deux maison que Le feu ne put atteindre et rentrèrent tout incontinent dans le fort pour donner Le tems a un autre officier à une pareille Expédition d'un autre Côte qui fut faite par Mr. hé, Lieutenant des troupes ameriquaines, qui sortis aussi avec trente hommes Et mirent Le feu a deux granges et Ecuries derrière Le fort et rentrèrent tout de suite, se méfiant bien que pondiak et Les Sauvages voyant de loing Ses incendies viendroient foncer sur eux pour deffendre Leur retraite mais heureusement autre chose

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lution broke out he begged to be allowed to enlist in the American cause. He also petitioned for the rank of Maréchal de camp and the Grand Cordon of Military Merit. He was refused permission to go as a French officer, but was told that he could dispose of his body as he saw fit. At the same time he so antagonized Silas Deane, who was negotiating in Paris in behalf of the colonies, that the latter wrote to the Committee of Secret Correspondence warning them against Hopkins should he venture to come to America. He evidently remained in France for Fulwar Skipwith, who was Secretary of the U. S. Legation in 1794, and Consul for the department of Paris later, represents him as having become unfriendly to the United States and as having solicited the command of a vessel to cruise against the enemies of France, but without success. See *Stevens's Fac-similes; Wharton's Diplomatic Correspondence; Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vols. XIX and XXVII: Siege of Detroit by Hough; Force's American Archives; Journals of Robert Rogers by Hough; Army Lists (British); Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries, Vol. III, 1859, pp. 122, 158; Writings of James Monroe by Hamilton, and America Heraldica by Vermont.*

<sup>44</sup>Jehu Hay was born in Chester, Pa., and enlisted in the 60th American Regiment in 1758. In 1762 he was serving as lieutenant in Detroit. In 1766 he was made Indian Commissary. In 1774 he was selected by Haldimand to visit and report on the conditions in Illinois. In 1776 he became deputy Indian Agent and major of the Detroit militia. He was a prisoner at Vincennes with Hamilton, was sent to Virginia and exchanged in 1781. In 1782 he became lieutenant governor of Detroit, and died and was buried there Aug. 5th, 1785. On Jan. 22, 1748, he married Julie Marie Reaume, daughter of Hyacinth Reaume, a shoemaker by trade and cousin of Veronica Reaume, who, in 1764, married Gabriel Christopher LeGrand. He had one son, John, who later became a prominent citizen of Cahokia, Illinois. *Thwaite's and Kellogg's Revolution on the Upper Ohio, p. 130; Genealogy of the Campau Family by C. M. Burton; Canadian Archives Q. 25, pp. 132, 149; Denissen Genealogies MMS.*

something else to occupy them the whole morning. Still there were some who were on the watch, but in such few numbers that they did not dare either to show themselves or to shoot for fear of being discovered and attacked. Thus the two parties feared each other.

While these two gentlemen with part of the troops were working to render the region surrounding the fort clear and open, the Indians in Pontiac's camp were holding a council to which the oldest French settlers of the coasts had been summoned in the hope that they might be persuaded with fine words to join with them and show them how to throw up an intrenchment. The French were of no mind to do this, and anyway the most of them did not know how, and those who did know took good care not to say so, urging in their own defense that they did not know how to go about it.

Pontiac, seeing that he could not gain anything in this direction and not being willing to get by force what he had hoped to get from them voluntarily,—I mean their labor—tried another scheme and had Mr. La Butte tell Mr. Campbell to write to the Commandant what he was going to dictate to him in the presence of all these brothers of his, the French. Mr. Campbell did this, not wishing at all to displease a man whose wickedness he was beginning to realize. This letter said that Pontiac permitted the Commandant to retire with his vessels and all his force, taking away only the clothing they wore, just as Mr. Belestre had done; the rest of their goods and the goods and merchandise of the traders should remain at the disposal of the Indians; furthermore, it was already a good deal that he gave them their life and he promised that no harm should happen to them from his followers, and he guaranteed the peace of all the other nations. But if the commander was not willing to consent to what he advised him in that letter, he would begin the attack again and proceed to an assault, and if he captured him alive he would treat him as the Indians treat one another when making war;

Les occupait toute La matinée ils y en avait cependant quelqu'un qui était au guet, mais en si petit nombre qu'ils n'osèrent ni semonter, ni tirer par La crainte de se découvrir et que L'on ne fut sur eux ainsy Les deux parties se craignoient L'une L'autre.

Pendant que ses messieurs avec une partie de Leurs troupes travailloient a rendre Les dehors du fort Libre et nette, tous Les Sauvages au Camp de pondiak tenoient Conseil ou Les plus anciens français domicilier des Costes furent appelé pour taché de les engager par de Belles paroles a Se joindre avec eux pour Leurs donner des instructions pour ouvrir une tranché, ce que Les français n'étoient pas d'humeur de faire, joint a ce que Laplupart ne savaient pas Comme il faut siprendre Et ceux qui le Sçavoient Se donnoient Bien de garde de le dire, disant pour Bonne deffence qu'ils ne Scavoient pas comment cela se faisoient. Pondiak voyant qu'il ne pouvait rien gagné de ce costé Là et qui ne voulait point encore avoir par force ce qu'il espérait avoir volontairement deux meme; Je veux dire Leur travaille; Joua une autre ruse, Et fit dire à Mr. Cambel par Mr. La Butte d'écrire à Mr. Le Commandant, ce qu'il allait Luy faire dicté, en présence de tous Ces frères Les français; ce que fit Mr. Cambel qui ne voulait point déplaire à un homme dont il commençait à connaître La méchanceté, cette lettre portait que pondiak accordait à Mr. Le Commandant La liberté de se retiré avec ses Barques et tous son monde avec Seulement ce qu'ils avoient actuellement sur eux, comme Mr. Bellestre Et que le reste de leurs Butins tous celuy des Commerçants avec Leurs Marchandises resteroient à Leurs volonté et que C'était encore beaucoup qu'il Leurs donnaient La vie et qu'il Leur promettait qu'il ne Leurs arriveroient aucun mal ny de la part de ses gens et qu'il repondoient de la tranquillité de toutes Les autres nations et que Si le Commandant ne voulait pas consentir à ce qu'il Luy faisait marqué dans cette Lettre qu'il allait faire recommencer L'attaque et monter à l'assaut et que s'il Le prenait en vie il Le traiterait comme il font entre eux

and he was to send a reply to him at the earliest possible moment, and do it by some Frenchman.

This letter was carried by a Frenchman to the Commandant who read it. Without being much disturbed over the words of an Indian he replied that neither he nor his officers were willing to spite themselves in order to afford them amusement, inasmuch as by going away he ran a risk of losing his life in his own country; and since the King had sent him<sup>45</sup> to command the Fort he would stay there till he died, and his threats or those of other Indians did not disturb him any.

Pontiac who had flattered himself that the Commandant would be frightened by the letter which he had written to him, and had hoped to have a chance to pillage all the merchandise of the traders, was very much taken aback to get such a dry reply from the Commandant, and at the same time to learn of the sorties which the Commandant had made to set fire to his fortifications. This was enough to make him burst with chagrin, and he ordered all his men to return to the Fort and renew the attack. They did this just as bravely as the day before, but did not come so near, having now only two buildings to hide behind and they could not all find cover. Some who were farther away fired from behind the hill and their shots passed very frequently over the Fort, yet the force of their fire disconcerted the English who were on nettles all the time for fear of an assault and undecided whether to remain or embark. The thing that reassured them was when a Frenchman who had lived a long time with the Erie Indians and had sometimes been on the warpath with them, told them about the tactics of the Indians, and declared upon his life that the Indians would never make an assault. These assurances, coming from the mouth of a disinterested man who actually knew the habits of the Indians and their behavior in war which he described in detail to the Com-

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<sup>45</sup>Gladwin sent a verbal message to Pontiac on the 16th in reply to this message. He advised him to disperse his people and take care of his ammunition for hunting.

quand il se font La guerre et qu'il eut a luy faire reponce au plus tost et de le faire par un français.

Cette lettre fut apporté par un français à Mr. Le Commandant qui La Lû et qui Sans Beaucoup s'inquieter d'un discours sauvage, fit reponce qu'il ne voulait pas ny Luy ny ses officiers, Se né pour Les faires rires, vu que Leroy L'avait envoyé pour Commander Lefort, et que S'il sen allait il courait risque de perdre Sa vie dans Son pays, il y resterait jusque à la mort et qu'il s'occupait fort peu de ses menaces ny de celle des autres Sauvages.

Pondiak qui s'était flaté que Le Commandant serait intimidé par Sa lettre, qu'il Luy avait fait écrire, et qui espérait avoir toutes Les Merchandises des Commerçans en pillage, fut Bien trompé de voir une reponce aussi sec, qu'était celle du Commendant, apprenant en même temps Les Sorties que ce Mr. avoient faits pour mettre Le feu a ses retranchements, ce qui Le fâcha au point de crever de dépit, ordonna à tous Ces gens de retourné au fort et de recommencer l'attaque, ce qu'ils firent aussi fortement que Le jour précédent, mais non pas si proche, n'ayant plus que deux Batimens pour ce caché, ils ne pouvoient pas tous se tenir derrière, d'autre étoient plus Loing qui tiroient de derrière Le Coteau, Leurs Coups passait Bien souvent par dessus Lefort, néanmoins La force du feu chagrina ses messieurs qui craignant toujours L'assaut étoient Sur Les épines et Balancoient ou de resté ou d'embarqué, ce qui Les rassura ce fut un français qui avait été Longtemps avec Les Sauvages, les chats, demeurant parmi eux qui avoient été quelquefois en guerre avec eux, raconta a ses Mrs. La manoeuvre Sauvages, Les assurant aux périls de sa vie que Les sauvages ne monteroient jamais a Lassaut. Ces assurances qui sortaient de la bouche d'un homme desintéressé et qui effectivement Connaissait Les façons des Sauvages et qui Scavoient Leurs manière de se comporter en guerre dont il fit un detaille à Mr. Le Commandant Et à Mrs. Les officiers

mandant and his officers, set their minds at rest. The firing of the Indians did not last longer than seven o'clock in the evening, except for occasional shots discharged at long range. Nevertheless the Commandant and all his officers spent this night as they did the night before, so as not to be surprised.

The Hurons did not know what took place in the camp, not having been invited to the council, and because they had received no notice they thought Pontiac would not attack and so did not come to harass the Fort at all. But having found out that some traders were coming with barges loaded with merchandise as much for them as for the traders of the Fort, and with supplies for the English officers, they went to lie in wait for them down the river. The traders who had no warning of what was going to befall them, when they saw the Indians upon the shore calling to them, thought it was to barter deerskins as they do sometimes and turned in. The Indians took them and tied them with belts; all the Frenchmen in the barges were sent away unharmed, but they took the barges with the traders and the English employees to their villages, where they killed part of them and adopted the rest. One by the name of Jacquesmane,<sup>46</sup> who acted as captain of the barges, was presented by the Hurons to the Pottawattamies, who adopted him to live with them always. The merchandise fell into the power of the Hurons who were so occupied with it that they forgot the Fort. There was some liquor among the supplies, and the Huron women who feared that it would cause their husbands to do more foolish things than they had already done threw themselves upon the barrels, knocked in their heads and poured out all the contents, with the exception of a cask of eight gallons which an Indian

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<sup>46</sup>In the *Siege of Detroit* this capture is recorded on the 13th of May and the trader's name is given Chapman. Lieut. MacDonald also calls him Chapman. He came from Niagara with five canoes loaded with merchandise, sixteen half barrels of powder and some rum. Heckewelder tells a curious story of a trader, Chapman, who may have been this man. Chapman, a Jewish trader of Albany, was taken by the Chippewas and destined to be put to death. He was tied to a stake and fire started about him. Being thirsty he begged for a drink. Hot broth was brought to him, for it is an Indian custom not to refuse a prisoner



Leurs remis l'esprit tranquille, Le feu des Sauvages ne dura que jusqu'à sept heures du soir, qui ne tiroient plus que quelque coup de Loing en Loing, néanmoins Mr. Le Commandant et tous Les officiers passa La nuit Comme La précédente pour n'estre point surpris.

Les hurons qui ne sçavoient pas ce qui Se passoit au Camp, n'ayant point été appelé au Conseil, faute d'être avertis crurent que pondiak ne fraperoit point ne vinrent point inquieter Lefort, mais ayant Sçue qu'il venait des commerçant avec des Berges chargées de marchandises tant pour eux que pour les commerçans du fort avec des rafraichissemens pour Mrs. Les officiers furent audevant Les attendre dans Le Bas de la rivière Ses commerçans qui n'étoient pas prevenus de ce qui allait Leurs arrivé voyant Les Sauvages Sur le bord de la grève qui Les appeloient crurent que c'était pour traité du Chevreuil comme il font quelquefois, furent a eux, ceux cy les prirent et Les lièrent avec des colliers et renvoyèrent tous Les français qui se trouvèrent dans Les Berges Sans Leur faire aucun mal et menèrent Les Berges avec Les Commerçans et Les engagés anglais à Leurs villages ou en débarquant ils en tuèrent une partie, d'autre furent adopté. Un nommé Jacques Maire qui était comme Conducteur de cette Berge fut donné par les hurons aux poux en présent qui L'adoptèrent pour rester parmi eux. Les marchandises restèrent aux pouvoirs des hurons qui furent tellement occupés après qu'ils oublièrent Le fort parmi les marchandises il y avait de la boisson, Les femmes huronnes qui craignaient que cette Boisson ne fit faire à Leurs maris de plus grandes sotises que celles qu'ils avoient Commencé de faire, Se jetèrent dessus Les Barils, Les defoncèrent et renversèrent tous ce qu'il y avait de dans, à la reserve d'un Baril de seize pots qu'un Sauvage

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his last meal before death. In his haste he scalded himself and in a quick temper threw the contents of the bowl in the face of the man who gave it to him. This filled the Indians with awe, and believing that he was mad, they immediately released him. Heckewelder further states that this fact was well known to the inhabitants at Detroit and was confirmed by Chapman himself, who became an established merchant at that place. In 1796 there was a merchant named Nathaniel Chapman at Detroit who may have been the same man.

rescued from the hands of a woman and hid in the woods. He divided it between them (the Hurons) and the Potawatamies, only a few of whom drank of it for fear that there might be some poison mixed in it, because somebody had given them to understand that the English wished to poison them.

May 14. Saturday.

The Indians, who had tired themselves out to no purpose the night before in firing upon the Fort, rested, waiting to begin hostilities till about ten o'clock in the morning. The Commandant gave orders to profit by this tranquility and complete the work which had been begun the day before. This was done. A sergeant sallied out at the head of twenty volunteers from the troops and set fire to two barns which had escaped the preceding night through fear of the Indians.

When the sortie was accomplished the incendiaries returned and the space around the Fort was free. One could easily observe all that happened from the stockade of the Fort to the very top of the hill which was a keen disappointment to the Indians, who, as soon as they saw this expedition, ran to hinder it, thinking to arrive soon enough, but they were greatly surprised when they found nothing which could protect them from the fire of the Fort except the other side of the hill, behind which they stationed themselves in order to commence the same operations as in the two preceding days.

The English who were expecting this were not surprised to hear the battle begin again. They began to get used to these tactics, yet feared an assault in view of the warning a Frenchman from without gave them in the night that the Indians would try an onslaught; and the behavior of the Indians on this day more than the other two rendered them almost sure that such was their plan.

In this extremity the English had no other resource but to betake themselves to their vessels, where their goods had been moved the first day, and set sail for Niagara. How-

sauvât de la main des femmes qu'il fut caché dans le bois. Le partagea entre eux et Les paux dont il n'y eût que fort peu qui en burent, craignant qu'il n'y eût de poison mêlé dedans par ce que L'on Leur avait fait entendre que Les anglais vouloient Les empoisonné.

14ème May.—Le Samedi 14e May.—Les Sauvages qui La veille S'étoient fatigué inutilement a tiré Sur Lefort se reposoient en attendant l'heur de recommencé L'hostilité qui n'étoient guère que Sur Les dix heures du matin. Mr. Le Commandant ordonna que L'on profita de ce moment de tranquillité pour parachevé L'ouvrage qui avait été Commencé Le jour précédent, ce qui fut executé, et pour cela un Sergent sortis à la teste de vingt hommes de troupe de bonne volonté Et furent mettre Le feu à deux granges qui avaient echappé La veille par L'appréhension que L'on eut des Sauvages, Cette expédition faite Les incendaires rentrèrent et Les dehors du fort furent libres. L'on pouvait aisément découvrir tous ce qui se passaient depuis Les pieux de L'enceinte du fort jusque Sur Le haut du Côteau, ce qui faisait grand mal au Cœur aux Sauvages, qui s'aperçurent de cette expédition accoururent pour L'empêcher, craignant encore arrivé assez tost, ils furent Bien trompé, ne voyant plus rien qui pûs Les gardés du feu du fort, Si non que de L'autre Costé du Côteau derrière Lequel ils se mirent pour reCommencer Leurs mêmes trains que Les deux jours precedents. Ses Mrs. qui Si étaient attendûe ne furent point étonné d'entendre recommencer la charge. Commencent à se faire à cette manoeuvre et qui cependant craignait L'assaut joint à ce que dans La nuit ils furent avertis par un français de dehors qu'ils voulaient y monter et Les demarches que Les Sauvages firent ce jour plus que Les deux autres jours faisoient presque Connaître qu'ils avoient le dessein, Et ces Mrs. n'avoient pour toute ressource dans cette inconvenient de Se jeter dans Leurs barques ou Leurs Butin étoient rendûe dès La première Journée et faire vaille pour Niagara, ce qui ne fut point, parce qu'il Leurs

ever, this was not done because they were told that if they could pass this third day which was drawing to a close without an assault, the Indians would never try it, for they knew well they would lose a number of men by storming,—a thing they greatly feared. The day passed like the preceding ones; the officers stood guard with their troops day and night, wearing themselves out and causing their men almost to drop with fatigue.

Father Poitier, Jesuit missionary to the Hurons, by virtue of his calling and the power that he had over them had kept a part of them, especially the good band, within the bounds of neutrality by refusing them the sacrament. In order to succeed in restraining them all, he needed help, and asked Mr. Laboise<sup>47</sup>, a resident of the Fort but who for some time had been living at his house, to be kind enough to cross the river and invite for him the oldest and most sensible of the settlers whom he knew the Indians loved and esteemed to come and join him in trying to arrest the course of that storm, which in threatening the English, seemed also to threaten the French. This was done. These settlers who knew and respected the Jesuit father for a worthy priest and regarded him as a saint upon earth, hastened at this call to assemble at his place and deliberate over what should be done to mollify Pontiac, and what representation should be made to get him to end this internal war.

After counseling together the most respected among the French, twelve in number, went to the camp of Pontiac, who was greatly surprised to see them and asked the occasion of their visit. Seeing he was of such an affable manner they flattered themselves upon their sure success, and told him they had come on a good errand. At this Pontiac asked them to enter the house of Mr. Baptiste Meloche where Messrs. Campbell and MacDougal, his two prisoners, were; he summoned his chiefs to come and hear the

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<sup>47</sup>At this time there was a Joseph Poupard dit Laboise living at Detroit whose wife was Agathe Reaume.

fut dit que S'ils passaient Cette troisième journée qui tirait à sa fin Sans assaut, Les Sauvages n'y monteroient jamais, parce qu'ils Savaient Bien qu'en montant à l'assaut ils perdroient du monde et c'est ce qu'ils craignaient trop. La journée Se passa comme Les précédentes, Ses Mrs. faisoient Le quart avec Leurs troupes jour et nuit Se fatiguoient Beaucoup et les fesoient presque tomber Sur Les dents.

Le père potier, Jésuite missionnaire des hurons, qui par cette qualité Et par Le pouvoir qu'il a sur eux en avoit rammené une partie, Surtout La Bande, dans Les Bornes de la tranquillité en Leurs refusant Les Sacrements, Et qui pour achevé de Les maintenir tout, avait Besoin d'aide, pria Mr. La Boise, domicilié du fort, qui pour Lors étoit chez Luy depuis quelque tems de voulloir Bien traversé La rivière et d'aller prié de sa part Les plus anciens et Les plus Sensés des habitans, ceux qu'ils Sçavaient estre aimé et Considère des Sauvages de venir se joindre à Luy pour arrêté Le Cour de cette Orage, qui en menaçant L'anglois, paroissait menacé Les français, Ce qu'il fit, ces derniers qui Connoissoient et respectoient Le père Jésuite, pour un très digne religieux, Le regardoient comme un Saint Sur terre, à sa demande ne furent aucune difficulté de se transporter chez Luy et traitèrent ensemble de quelle façon il fallait se prendre pour adoucir pondiak et Les représentations qu'il falait Luy faire pour s'engager à finir cette guerre intestine, après cette délibération Les français au nombre de douze des plus respectables furent au Camp de pondiak qui fut Bien surpris de les voir en Leur demandant Le Sujets de leur visite. Eux Le croyant d'un abord sifacile, se flatèrent d'un bon succès et Luy dirent qu'ils venoient pour Les Bonnes affaires, Sur ce mot, pondiak Les fit entrer dans La maison de Mr. baptiste Méloche ou étoient Mrs. Cambel et Magdan, Ses deux prisonniers, il appela Ses chefs pour venir écouté Les

good words of their brothers, the Frenchmen. When everyone had arrived the oldest French resident spoke in the name of all the settlers and asked Pontiac what his intentions were in regard to the war. The latter replied that he had no other design than to expel the English from the Fort and from their lands in order to make a place for the French commander, who, as he had heard, was about to arrive<sup>48</sup>. The French represented to him that if he expected a French commander so soon he had only to remain quiet in his lodge, for there would be time enough to strike after he had arrived. He replied that he had promised to have the place ready for his Father, and that he wished him to find it so.

The Frenchmen protested in vain that the war would ruin them and prevent them from going about their business affairs, and they made use of the most telling Indian terms to express to him their trouble. Pontiac, who persisted in the same views and was moved by nothing, answered that in order to be the sooner relieved all they had to do was to join with him in driving out the English, after which they could retire to their lands and wait for the French who were sure to come. The settlers replied that it was impossible for them to do this, because they had promised to be loyal to the English.

And so, not being able to gain anything on either side, the French were constrained to return and report to Father Poitier who gave them an exhortation on the subject of the present calamities, and begged them to pray with fervor to bend the will of Heaven, which was chastening them through this war. They promised to do this and all returned to their homes more fatigued from their useless trip than satisfied with the success of their enterprise.

May 15. Sunday.

The Indians, who had spent the three preceding days

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<sup>48</sup>It was repeatedly claimed that the Indians were encouraged to believe that the King of France would come to their assistance. There were rumors of an army coming through the Illinois country and of a fleet coming by way of the St. Lawrence. Among the Gladwin papers are several instances of the French

bonnes paroles de leurs frères Les français, Lors qu'il fut tout entré Le plus anciens des français pris La parole au noms de tous Les habitans et demanda a pondiak quelles étaient Ses intentions dans cette guerre, il fit reponce qu'il n'en avait point d'autre que de chasser Les anglais du fort et de dessus Leurs terres pour faire place au Commandant français, qui suivant son entende devait arrivé incessamment, Les françois Luy représentèrent que puis qu'il attendait Sitôt un Commandant français, qu'il n'avait qu'à Se tenir tranquille sur Lanate qu'il serait toujours à tems de frapé quand il Le voirait arrivé, il Leur répondit, qu'il avait promis La place Libre à son père et qu'il voulait qu'il La trouva. En vain Ses Messieurs Luy dirent que cette guerre Les ruinoient et Les empêchoient de vaquer à Leurs affaires Se Servant des Expressions Sauvages Les plus Sensibles pour Luy faire Connoître Leurs peines; pondiak qui persistait toujours dans le mesmes. Sentimens Et que rien ne touchait Leur fit réponce que pour Estre plutôt débarassé il n'avait qu'à tous Se joindre à luy pour chasser les anglois et qu'après ils Se retireraient sur Leurs terres en attendant Les français qui devait venir, Les français Luy répondirent que c'estoient impossible et qu'il ne pouvait pas Le faire parce qu'ils avoient promis d'estre fidel aux anglais, ainsi ne pouvant rien gagné de part ni d'autre Les français furent Contrains de sen revenir rendre Reponse au père potier qui Leurs donna une exortation sur les calamités présentes, Les engageans de prier avec ferveur pour fléchir Le ciel qui Les chatioient par cette guerre, ce qu'ils promirent de faire et retournèrent chaqu'un chez eux plus fatigué de Leurs demarche inutiles que Contens du Succès de leurs entreprises.

15, May.—Le dimanche 15 de May, Les Sauvages qui avoient passé les trois jours précédent en tems perdûe

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helping the Indians. Morris in his journal says that "by French intrigue eighteen nations have been united and have chosen Pontiac as commander." *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 631-680; *Early Western Travels by Thwaites*, Vol. I, p. 305.

doing nothing, resolved to keep quiet till the arrival of reinforcements which were expected from the Chippewas of Grand River, and it was reported they would not be long in coming; they thought with this addition to their numbers they would the more easily succeed in their foolish plans.

The English who had spent a very peaceful night and not detected any movement on the part of the Indians thought that things were not as bad as they had appeared at the beginning. The Commandant who had never lost courage, although somewhat uneasy, ordered the garden of Mr. La Butte to be destroyed during this respite. This was done by Mr. Hay, an officer, who sallied out at the head of forty volunteers and proceeded to spoil the garden. The fence was of cedar stakes ten feet tall and enclosed a quantity of fruit trees and a house where the gardener lived, a very great advantage to the Indians. They pulled up the stakes, burnt the house, cut down the trees and threw them into the river. It did not take them long to do this and they returned as peacefully as they went out.

One must not think the Indians did not see them doing this, but they perceived that it was too late to hinder their shelter's being destroyed and so kept quiet until one o'clock in the afternoon when they fired a shot at the little sloop. But it was just so much time and powder wasted for them.

The English leaders who up to the present had hardly had time to breathe, seeing that it looked as if they would not be disturbed during the day, caused half of the troops to rest till evening; the others worked to make the two cannon of some value which had not been used up to this time because of lack of place to mount them. The Commandant ordered that embrasures should be made on both sides of the big gate of the Fort which faced the high road toward the southwest to receive these two pieces, one of which commanded the high road, and the other the



résolurent de se tenir tranquille en attendant le renfort qu'il devait Leur venir de la part des sauteurs de La grande rivière, que L'on disait ne pas tardé a arrivé, Espérant qu'avec ce monde il viendrait plus aisément about de leurs folles entreprises, Ses messieurs qui avait passé une nuit fort tranquille Et qui ne voyait aucun mouvement de la part des sauvages n'étoient plus si mauvais qu'il Leur avoient parûs dans Le Commencement, Mr. Le Commandant quoy que inquiété qui n'avait jamais perdue courage ordonna que pendant cette inaction, Le Jardin de Mr. Labutte fut détruit, ce qui fut executé par Mr. hé, officier qui sortis à la teste de quarante hommes de bonne volonté furent défaire Le jardin dont L'enceinte étoient de pieux de cedre de dix pieds de hauts qui renfermait quantité d'arbre fruitiers et une maison ou demeurait Le jardinier et qui étoit une Bien grande avantage pour Les Sauvages, ils arrachèrent Les pieux, Brulèrent La maison, coupèrent Les arbres et Les jettèrent à la rivière, ce qui fut fait en très peu de tems, et rentrèrent aussi tranquillement qu'ils étoient Sortient, ce n'est pas que Les Sauvages Les virent bien faire, mais aussi voyant Bien par eux mesme qu'ils Se prenoient toujours tard pour empêcher que L'on ne detruisit Leurs retraites, ils se tinrent tranquil jusque vers une heur après midy, qu'ils tirèrent quelque coup Sur La petite Barque, mais c'étoient pour eux du temps et de la poudre perdue.

Ces Mrs. qui jusque a présent n'avoient eû qu'à peine Le tems de respiré voyant Bien qu'il y avait apparence qu'il ne seroit pas inquiété de la Journé firent reposer La motié de leurs troupe jusque au soir, d'autre travaillèrent à rendre utile Les deux pièces de Canon qui Jusque icy n'avoient pûs Servient faute de place pour Les mettre et pour cela Mr. Le Commandant ordonna que des deux costé de la grande porte du fort qui faisait face au grand chemin du costé du Sorouest il fut fait deux embrasures pour placé ses deux pièces, une de chaque costé dont une Batois sur Le Grand chemin et L'autre dans Les champs

fields and the house of Mr. Jacques St. Martin<sup>49</sup> in the same direction.

May 16. Monday.

The Commandant who had known that the good band of the Hurons had withdrawn from the plot through the efforts of Father Poitier, their missionary, and had gone to another locality so as not to be concerned in it any more, resolved to give the bad band reason to repent of their foolishness by sending the big sloop to cannonade and set on fire their villages if it was possible, and to do the same to the Pottawattamies while on the way.

The expedition was put in charge of Capt. Hopkins who with Mr. Hay, an officer, and ten soldiers and a trader embarked in the big sloop. The wind having turned into the east seemed to wish to favor them in this enterprise. They lifted anchor to drop down to the right of the two villages, but had not made a third of a mile before the wind changed to the south and came on to blow, and they had it for the once almost ahead. It was necessary to tack in order to run where they wanted to go, and this they did.

This maneuver frightened the French settlers who for the most part did not understand it, for they believed that the English had a grudge against them and that the vessel was dropping down the river only to lay waste their shores and set fire to their houses. This last they could not have done, not having any forge on board. Nevertheless, there were some who went to hide their goods in ditches in their fields, and others who concealed theirs in the woods. Other Frenchmen who understood the movements of the boat came and reassured them, showing them the unreasonableness of their fears; but the thing that reassured them more was an accident which happened to the boat and would have caused its absolute destruction if there had been any Indians around. The wind which kept getting stronger

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<sup>49</sup>Jacques Baudry dit Desbutes dit St. Martin was the official interpreter of the Hurons at Detroit. He was a merchant and lived on the coast southwest of the fort. During the siege he moved into the town and lived on St. Joseph

et Sur la Maison de Mr. Jacques St. Martin, Sur La mesme face.

16e May.—Le Lundy 16e May.—Mr. Le Commandant qui avait Sçu que La Bonne bande des hurons S'étoient retiré de la Cabale par l'entremise du père poitier, Leurs missionnaires, et que pour n'y estre plus engagé S'étoient éloigné dans un autre Canton, resolu de donner sujet à la Mauvaise Bande de se repentir de leur Sotises en envoyant La grosse Barque ravager Leurs Villages à Coup de Canon et y mettre Le feu, S'il était possible Et d'en faire autant chez Les paux, en chemin faisant. Cette expédition fut mise entre Les mains de Mr. hobquince, capitaine, qui avec Mr. hé, officier, dix Soldats et un Commerçant s'embarquèrent dans la grosse barque, Le vent Semblait Les vouloir favorisé dans cette entreprise S'étant mis a L'ess, ils Levèrent L'ancre pour dessendre audroit des deux villages, ils n'urent pas faits un demie quart de Lieu que Le vent changea et Semit au Sud en augmentant, Et ils avoient pour Lors Le vent presque devant il falait qu'il couru La bordé pour se rendre ou il voullaient aller, et ce qu'il firent aussi, ces manoeuvres que Les habitans ne Connaissoient pas pour La plupart Les effrayèrent Croyant que Ces Mrs. en voullaient à eux, Et que La Barque ne dessendoient que pour ravager Les Costes. Et mettre Le feux aux maisons, ce qui ne pouvoient pas se faire n'ayant point de forge abord Cependant il y en eûs qui furent caché Leurs Butin dans les fossés, au milieu des terres, d'autre dans le Bois, ce que d'autre français Connaisseur des mouvemens de la Barque ayant Les vinrent rassuré Leur faisant connaître L'impossibilité de leurs apprehension, ce qui Les rassura davantage, ce fut un Evenement qui arriva a la Barque qui aurait Causé totalement sa perte, S'il y avait eu des Sauvages a proximité. Le vent qui reforcissait toujours n'était plus favorable à

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street. He was born at Quebec, Aug. 23, 1733, married at Detroit Oct. 28, 1760, to Marie Anne Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre, and was buried at Detroit June 18, 1768. *Denissen's Genealogics MMS.*

was no longer favorable to the vessel, still the English who were absolutely bent on reaching the two villages held up to the wind, tacking from one shore to the other. As they were coming about in order to stand out again, there came a puff of wind which filled the sails and stranded the sloop about twenty feet from shore and five-eighths of a mile from the Fort. There they were almost on shore a quarter of an hour, and at great risk they had to carry out an anchor two hundred feet into the river in order to work themselves afloat. They succeeded and returned to the anchorage where they had started from, very well pleased at having escaped the clutches of the Indians, for it is certain that ten Indians could have captured the boat in the situation in which it was in spite of any defense they could have made, and their imprudence would have cost them dear.

There were Indians enough, indeed, who beheld the vessel from a distance and came to attack it, but when they arrived it was too late; and they could console themselves with this proverb: "The wolf escapes when the dog stops to ——." However, the rage they felt at having missed a chance so favorable led them to come and open fire on the Fort from about two P. M. till six, but without killing as much as a fly. The French who had remained in the Fort drew water from the wells and filled the vessels calculated to receive it.

May 17. Tuesday.

Pontiac who had not taken care in the beginning of the war to lay in any provisions for the sustenance of his warriors, was obliged to resort to fraud in order to live,—he and all his followers. To this end he and four chiefs of his nation visited all the settlers of the shores to levy contributions of food, saying they could give voluntarily or under compulsion,—if not they would have their live stock killed, a thing which was already begun. In spite of the fact that there were settlers who were already feeding as many as twenty Indians, this did not keep them from committing depredations.

la barque, Cependant ses Mrs. qui voulaient absolument aller aux deux village, voguaient à L'encontre du vent, Courant La bordé d'une terre à l'autre, Comme ils voulaient viré de Bord pour S'élever au Large il vint une Boufé de vent qui pris dans Les voilles Sur tout Sens, fit échouer La barque a environ vingt pied de terre et à un quart de Lieu du fort, ils y furent Bien L'espace d'un quart d'heure presque sur le Côté, ils furent Contraint au risque de péril, d'aller jeter un ancre à un arpent au Large pour se déchouer à force de travaillé ils en vinrent about et retournèrent mouillé d'ou ils étaient partis Bien Contens d'avoir echappé de la grife des Sauvages, car il est certain que dans La Situation ou était La barque, dix Sauvages fesoient Leurs affaires sans qu'ils pussent se deffendre, et ils auroient payé Bien cher Leurs imprudences, il y eût Bien des Sauvages qui S'en apperçurent de Loing et qui vinrent pour foncer dessus, mais ils arrivèrent qu'il n'était plus temps, et ils pouvaient dire ce proverbe; pendant que Le chien chie, Le Loup S'en va, mais La Collère où ils étaient d'avoir manqué un Coup si favorable, Les fit venir sur Les Deux heures après midy tiré sur Lefort jusque à Six heures du soir Sans peut estre avoir tué une mouche à cette heure. Les français qui étoient resté dans le fort chariait de Leau des puis dans Les vaisseaux destine à la recevoir.

17e May, Le Mardy 17e de May.—Pondiak qui en commençant cette guerre n'avait pas eû soin de faire des provisions pour la Subsistance de ses guerriers fut obligé d'avoir recour à la Supercherie pour vivre, Luy et tout son monde, pour cela il fut avec quatre chef de sa nation en contrainte chez tous Les habitans dans Les Coste pour Leurs demander des vivres de bonne volonté ou de force ou bien qu'ils tueroient Les animaux domestique ce qu'ils avaient déjà Commencé de faire. Bien que cependant il y avoient des habitans qui en nourrissoient jusqu'à vingt et cela n'empêchait pas qu'ils ne fissent du dégas. Les habitans qui craignoient que Les Sauvages ne se bandassent contre eux, accordèrent à la demande des chefs et

The settlers who feared that the Indians would combine against them agreed to the demand of the chiefs, and each one supported the savages who lived in his vicinity: Pontiac and his people derived their supplies from the north shore, Ninivois and the Pottawattamies from the southwest, and the Hurons from the east and south.

About ten o'clock, when each nation had looked after the food supplies, the chiefs of all the nations met at Pontiac's camp and deliberated as to how the Frenchmen outside the Fort might be kept from entering, and those inside from coming out; they did this because they said those from within carried to the outside information of what happened inside, and those on the outside carried to the Fort what passed without, and all this did not result in any good. Their reasoning was not bad, because actually there were some French who sowed dissension under the pretext of wishing to restore harmony between the two parties. It was therefore concluded in the council that there should be a guard of twenty men from the two nations at each side of the Fort who should guard the approaches of the two sides in order to hinder the going and coming of people, and that those who tried to pass in spite of them should be fired upon. What was agreed upon was done. Some Frenchmen who wanted to try to pass came within one of getting shot. In the course of the afternoon there was some firing on both sides, but no harm done.

May 18. Wednesday.

The Indians who were occupied with a plan that they had pondered on for some time, namely, to send a message to Mr. De Leon<sup>50</sup> among the Illinois, neglected the Fort for the whole day. Pontiac had all the chiefs and leading men of each nation assemble for a council, and he sent messengers to all the oldest of the French settlers and to those he knew to invite them to the council, to

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<sup>50</sup>Peter Joseph Neyeon de Villiere succeeded Capt. Macarty in the command of Fort Chartres, which he held until June 15, 1764, when he received the Cross of St. Louis as a reward for his fidelity and services.

chaqu'un nourrissaient par ensemble Les Sauvages qui étoient de leurs Costé, de sorte que pondiak et ses gens tiroient Leurs Subsistance dans La Coste du Nord, innivois et Les poux tiroient dans la Côte du sorouest, et Les hurons dans Les Costes de L'est et du Sud.

Sur Les dix heures après que chaque nation eu pourvû au besoin de la bouche tous Les chefs de chaque nation S'assemblèrent au Camp de pondiak et tinrent Conseil entre eux pourque aucune personne français de dehors Lefort ne fussent dedans et que Ceux du dedans ne sortissent point pour aller dehors, parce que disoient ils ceux du dedans raportent dehors ce qui se passent et ceux du dehors raportent au dedans ce qui se passent au Camp et que cela ne faisait aucun bon effet et Leurs raisons n'étoient pas mauvaise parce que il y avait effectivement des français qui sous pretexte de voulloir mettre Le bon accord entre Les deux parties y mettait La dissention, il fut donc conclu dans Le Conseil, qu'il y aurait aux deux Bout du fort une garde de vingt des deux nations qui garderoient chacun de leurs Côté Les passages pour empêcher d'aller et de venir et que ceux qui voudroient passé malgré eux ils feroient feux sur eux, ce qui fut dit fut fait, il y eut des français qui voullurent tente a passé, peu S'en falû qu'il n'en fusent La dupe, dans Le Courant de L'après midy il y eu quelque coup de tiré de part et d'autre Sans faire aucun mal.

18e May.—Le mercredy 18e May.—Les Sauvages occupé d'un dessein qu'ils avoient premedité depuis quelques jours, d'envoyer aux illinois vers Mr. Léon oublièrent Lefort pour toute Cette journée, pondiak fit assemblé tous Les chefs et Les Considéré de chaque nation pour tenir Conseil et envoya des émissaires chez tous Les plus anciens des français et ceux qui Connaissaient pour Les Conviés à venir au Conseil Les deux officiers qui étoient prisonniers chez eux furent admis, tous Le monde rassemblé

which the two officers who were prisoners among them were admitted. When everybody had come Pontiac took a war-belt, and addressing all said:

"My brothers, you are ignorant of the reasons which have induced me to act, although I have spared no pains to keep you informed of my sentiments. But as I fear that our Father will not come and take possession of the Fort soon enough after I have expelled or killed the English, and that the Indians may insult you if there is no commandant here to obviate this difficulty, I have resolved to send to the Illinois some of our French brothers with some Indians to carry our war-belts and our words to our Father, Mr. De Léon, and ask him to send us a French officer for a commander to guide us and replace the English. You, my brothers, will do me a pleasure to write to our Father in this matter, joining your words to mine."

He at once had a letter written to Mr. De Léon in the presence of these two English officers, telling about the council and all the reasons which had induced him to act, just as I have described in the beginning of this narrative. To this was added a letter<sup>51</sup> from the French who earnestly begged Mr. De Léon in view of the present circumstances to restrain the tribes.

When these letters were finished Pontiac who presided over everything named the two Frenchmen<sup>52</sup> and the two Indians whom he wanted to carry the letters and his words, at the same time telling them that they should hold themselves in readiness to depart the next morning, and that those who wanted to go along, either French or Indian,

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<sup>51</sup>The letter from the Frenchmen: "Gentlemen: We are obliged to submit to what the Indians exact from us; the English are blocked up, and all the passages are shut up; we cannot express to you our perplexity. It would be necessary, in order to judge of the calamities which threaten us and which appear to us inevitable, that you saw with your own eyes what is going on here. God alone can prevent our becoming the victims of the English and Savages. These Couriers bear to you the talks of the Nations here. We look upon it as a happiness to have it in our power to acquaint you of our deplorable situation. We certainly never have contributed thereto by our conduct; the English on their part never gave us occasion. Instruct us what we can do. We look upon you as Protectors and Mediators who would be willing to employ themselves efficaciously to pacify two contending parties who threaten us with an unexampled Desolation." *Copy of a letter sent by the inhabitants of Detroit, directed to the Gentlemen Commandants of the Illinois, Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls. Vol. XXVII, p. 645.*



pondiak pris un Collier de guerre et dit parlant à tous; mes frères vous ignorez Les causes qui m'ont fait agir Je nay rien épargné pour vous faire connaître mes Sentimens, mais comme je crains que nôtre père nesoit pas assez tost venus pour prendre possession du fort, Lorsque jauray chassé ou tué Les anglais, et que restant Sans Commandant, nos frères Les Sauvages ne vous fassent insulte, pour obvier à cette inconvénient Jay résolue d'envoyer aux illinois de nos frères Les françois avec des sauvages porter nos Colliers et nos paroles à notre père Mr. De Léon pour Luy demander qu'il nous envoie un Commandant, officier françois pour nous conduire et pour prendre La place des anglais, Vous autres, mes frères vous me ferez plaisir d'écrire à se Sujet à nostre père, joignant vos paroles aux nostre, tout de suite il fit venir un ecrivain pour écrire à Mr. Léon, En présence de ses deux Mrs. Le Conseil et toutes Les raisons qui Le faisait agir qui n'étoient autre chose que ce que Jay dit cy dessus dans Le Commencemens de cette écris auquel était Joint une Lettre de la part des français qui prioient instamment Mr. Deléon vû Les Circonstance présentes d'arrester Les nations, tous les écris finis de part et d'autre. Pondiak qui présidait à tous, nomma Les deux français et Les deux Sauvages par qui il voullait que Les Lettres et Les paroles furent porté Leurs disant qu'ils eussent a Se tenir prest à partir Le Lendemain matin et que ceux qui voudroient estre du voyage, français et Sauvage pouvait parlé qu'il ne Les

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<sup>52</sup>Jacques Godfroy, Miny Chesne, Messrs. Beaubien, Chauvin, Labadie and a party of Indians started out to deliver the Indian and French letters. When at the mouth of the Miami River they overtook a trader named Welch, whom they captured and after participating in the taking of Fort Miami, sent their prisoner and booty back to Detroit, where they were lodged at the house of Miny Chesne, near the Pottawattamie village. Miny Chesne was a brother of Isedore Chesne. Godfroy and Miny Chesne were both made prisoners after the siege and a court of inquiry held to investigate their actions during the siege. Godfroy won his freedom by acting as guide and interpreter for Morris in 1764. Chesne, who from *St. Anne's Church Records* appears to be Leopold Chesne, son of Charles and Catharine Sauvage, also gained his freedom as he did not die until Jan. 13, 1778. *Gladwin MMS.*, p. 658.

Miny Chesne: He had two Indian wives, an Ottawa and a Sautouse. By the latter he had a son, Charles, who was baptized Oct. 25, 1775. Chesne lived on a farm on the north bank of the Detroit River. This farm was granted to him by Pontiac, Sept. 17, 1765, and lay east of the land granted to George McDougall. *Register's Office of Detroit, Vol. A, p. 128.*

might announce themselves and he would not prevent them, and he would have the settlers give them all that they would need for the expedition.

May 19. Thursday.

Pontiac who believed that Mr. De Léon would be able to furnish a commander in reply to his demand had nothing else to do the next morning but supply the needs of those whom he was sending away. He helped them embark and told them to go and wait for him below the fort at the mill, and he would make the rounds of the region to get them provisions. This he did, going from house to house demanding of each one, according to his ability, food and ammunition for the messengers so as to enable them to depart promptly. When all the outfit for the trip was delivered to the men, they set out for the Illinois about ten o'clock.

As soon as the messengers had gone Pontiac returned to his camp and commanded his young men to go and amuse themselves by harassing the vessels, because he knew well enough that they could not do them any great harm. They did this till toward five o'clock when they got tired of shooting, and returned to the camp in order to rest from their useless labor.

May 20. Friday.

The Commandant who had a plan to send one of the sloops to Niagara to hasten the arrival of reinforcements which he had been expecting for a long time gave orders to Mr. Le Grand<sup>53</sup>, appointed judge in place of Mr. St. Cosme<sup>54</sup>, that all the French in the Fort should pick up the stones which they might find in the streets and carry them to the edge of the river to ballast the vessel which was about to sail. The boats changed places and the soldiers put the stones on board the little sloop.

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<sup>53</sup>Gabriel Christopher LeGrand, son of Gabriel Louis Legrand, Sieur of Sintre, Vicomte of Mortain, and Ann Henrietta Catherine de Crenay, of noble parentage, who lived at Roche, diocese of Avranches, in Normandy, France, enlisted in the French army, in the company of De Boune, came to Detroit, where he was a surgeon major at the Post. He married here April 17, 1758, Marie Magdelene Chapoton. She died Jan. 7, 1763, when they were living in the village on St. Jacques street. Gabriel married a second time on July 26, 1764, Veronica Reaume, daughter of Peter Reaume, who lived on the south side of the river.

empescherait point qu'il Leurs ferait donner par Les habitans tous ce qui Leurs Seraient necessaires pour Leurs voyages.

19, May.—Le Jeudy 19 May.—Pondiak qui croyais que Mr. Deléon, aurait à sa demande un Commandant, n'eut rien de plus pressé dès Le matin que de pourvoir au Besoin de ceux qu'ils fesait partir il Les fit embarqué et Leur dit d'aller L'attendre au dessous du fort au moulin et qui allait dans Les Costes pour Leurs faire avoir des vivres, ce qu'il fit, il fut de maison en maison pour demander à chacun Selon son moyen des vivres et munitions pour ses Courriers affin de les faire partir promptement, tout le nécessaire du voyage delivré aux voyageurs, ils partir vers Les dix heurs pour Les illinois.

Les Couriers partis, pondiak retourna à son Camp et Commanda à ses jeunes gens d'aller Se divertir Sur Les Barques seulement pour Les inquieter, parce qu'ils était Bien prevenûs qu'ils ne pouvoient pas Leurs faire grand mal ce qu'ils firent jusque à vers les Cinq heures du Soir, qu'ils se lassèrent de tiré et retournèrent à leurs Camps Se reposé des fatigues inutiles qu'ils s'étoient donné.

20e May.—Le vendredy 20e May.—Mr. Le Commandant qui avoient dessein de faire partir une des Barques pour Niagara, et pour favorisé L'arrivé du secours qu'il attendoient de jours en jours depuis longtems, donna ordre à Mr. Le Grand Substitué Juge à la place de Mr. St. Cosme que tous Les français qui étaient dans Le fort ramassassent Les piéres qu'ils trouveroient dans Les rues et Les mener au bord de la rivière pour Lester La Barque qui devait partir, elles changèrent de place L'une L'autre et toutes Les pierres furent menées à la petite Barque par La troupe, Cette journée se passa Sans aucune hostilité de part et d'autre.

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He served for some time as a notary in Detroit and later went to Kaskaskia, where he served in the same capacity and succeeded in getting the land titles so badly mixed up that the land commissioners made loud complaints of his inefficiency. *Denissen Genealogies, MMS., C. M. Burton's History of Detroit.*

<sup>14</sup>Pierre Laurence Cosme (or St. Cosme) resided in Detroit on St. Jacques street. He was born at Laprairie, Lower Canada, Oct. 30, 1721; married at Detroit to Catherine Lortman dit Barrois, Jan. 25, 1747, and was buried at Detroit Sept. 21, 1787.

The day passed without any hostility on either side.

May 21. Saturday.

At eleven o'clock in the morning the little sloop sailed from in front of the Fort for the entrance to Lake Erie in order to discover if the expected reinforcements were coming. She was ordered to stay there a week, reconnoitering, in order to expedite the arrival of reinforcements, and at the end of that time to go on to Niagara.

The Indians either from laziness or from contempt did not approach to fire on the Fort or the vessel at all during the whole day. About five o'clock in the evening it was learned through a Frenchman who had sallied out that Sekahos<sup>55</sup>, great chief of the Chippewas of Grand River, had arrived in response to Pontiac's demand with one hundred twenty men of his band.

May 22. Sunday; Whitsunday.

During the whole of this sacred day there was a violent wind and a downpour of rain which caused both sides to remain quiet.

May 23. Monday.

The weather of the morning which had not cleared up from the day before kept the Indians quiet. The Commandant who was suspicious of them and foresaw that the tranquility would not last long, having been warned, besides, to be on his guard against any surprise, ordered that the iron and steel in the warehouse should be used to make tomahawks, daggers, spears, hooks, with which to arm his soldiers against an assault in case the Indians should want to attempt one. Two French blacksmiths in the Fort did this work.

About four P. M. a rumor reached the Fort and got to the officers that the Indians intended to set fire to the Fort and the stockade, and the houses within, by means of fire arrows. However, they could not possibly do this, fortunately not having any of the necessary materials.

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<sup>55</sup>In the French original this name appears C  kaos. Schoolcraft spelled it *Cekaas* and it appears elsewhere, *Chickahos*. Sekahos lived on the Grand or Thames River and the rest of his band arrived on June 9th.

21e May.—Le Samedi 21e May.—A onze heures du matin La petite Barque partis de devant Le fort pour aller a L'entré du Lac Errier pour découvrir Si Le renfort que Se Messieur attendoient venait, elle avait ordre d'y resté huit jours en découverte pour favorisé L'arrivé du renfort et au bout des huit jours, faire route pour Niagara. Les Sauvages soit par paresse ou par mepris ne vinrent point tiré de la Journée ni Sur le fort ni Sur La Barque, Sur Les Cinq heures du soir L'on Sçu dans Le fort par un français qui avait Sortis que Ce Kaos, grand chef des Sauteux de la grande rivière était arrivé à la demande de pondiak avec cent vingt hommes de sa bande.

22e May.—Le dimanche 22 May.—Le jour de la pentecoste toute La Sainte Journée un vent impétueux et une pluie averse qui fut cause de tranquillité depart et d'autre.

23e May.—Le Lundy 23e May.—Le matinée qui Se Sentis du mauvais tems de La journée précédente fit que Les Sauvages furent tranquille, pendant ce tems. Mr. Le Commandant qui étoient en deffiance contre eux et qui prévoyait que La tranquillité ne serait pas de Longue duré, joint a ce qu'il était prevenu, qu'il était Souflé pour se mettre en deffence contre toutes tentative il ordonna que Lefers et Lassier qui étoient dans Le magasin fussent mis en ocuvre pour faire des Casse teste, des dagues, des Lances et des Croc pour armées Ses soldats pour deffendre Lassaut en cas que Les Sauvages voulussent tenté d'y monté, ce qui fut exécuté par deux forgerons français qui étoient dans le fort. Sur les quatre heures après midi il vint une nouvelle dans le fort qui dit à Ses Mrs. que Les Sauvages avoit intention de mettre Le feu au fort tant aux pieux qui en fesoient L'enceinte que aux maisons qui étoient dedans avec des flèches a feux, ce qui Leurs étoient impossible de faire n'ayant pas heureusement ce qui pouvait Leur estre necessaire pour cela, mais par prudence et crainte de surprise, il fut mis Sur Les magasins

But from prudence and fear of surprise ladders were placed upon the royal magazine and the houses, and on the ground by them tubs full of water to serve in case of need. The Commandant ordered that not a Frenchman in the Fort should go to bed, but make a night of it, and that they should assemble three or four together in their houses in order to be ready at the first call.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the weather cleared up, and it was expected the Indians would make some attack with the return of fair weather, but they did not, and the remainder of the day passed as had the morning<sup>56</sup>.

May 24. Tuesday.

The Indians who had been idle all the day before continued so on this day up to four o'clock, when they shook off the yoke of laziness to recommence their hostility against the Fort, and they did not cease till midnight. They were no more satisfied then than if they had kept quiet, unless it was that they had used up powder and ball to no purpose.

The Commandant who foresaw that this tragic affair would not end soon, and that it would not be easy to get provisions from without, from fear of being in need before the return of the vessel and the arrival of the convoy, which was expected any day, in order to avoid this, commanded that all the houses of the French should be visited and whatever superfluous food each man might have should be taken and stored for the sustenance of all his forces. This order was carried out by officer Hay, the commissary, and the judge<sup>57</sup>, who went into all the houses and collected wheat, flour, peas, also the corn belonging to the Indians which the French were storing, and which the Indians had not the precaution to take away before beginning their beautiful fiasco. The officers also collected oil, tallow, and, in general, everything which could serve

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<sup>56</sup>The tranquility of this day may be accounted for by the fact that Pontiac learned that the expected schooner was aground. He forced Capt. Campbell to accompany him across the river in order to put him in a canoe and take him to the ship. Here he expected to force Campbell to tell the Commander to give up the ship. He was, however, disappointed when he arrived at the Huron village

du roy et sur Les maisons des échelle et au bas des quelles il y avait des cuves pleines d'eau pour Se Servir au besoin, Mr. Le Commandant ordonna que pas un françois qui étoient actuellement dans Lefort ne se couchât qu'il passent La nuit blanche et qu'ils eussent a se rassemblé trois ou quatre ensemble par maison pour être prest à la première demande, vers Les deux heures après midy Le temps se mit au beau L'on S'attendait qu'au retour du Beaux tems Les Sauvages feroient quelque incursion, ce qui ne fut point et Le reste de la Journée Se passât comme s'était passé Le matin.

24, May.—Le Mardy 24 de May.—Les Sauvages qui avoient paresseux La veille toute La journée, Le furent encore ce jour jusqu'à quatre heures qu'ils Secouèrent Le Joug de la paresse pour recommencer leurs hostilité Sur le fort et qu'ils ne cessèrent que à minuit pas plus Satisfait que S'ils Se fussent tenûs tranquil, Sinon que d'avoir user de La poudre et des Balles inutilement.

Mr. Le Commandant qui prévoyait que cette tragique scène ne finirait pas Sitost et qu'il ne Serait pas facile d'avoir des vivres du dehors et craignant d'en manquer avant Le retour de la Barque et L'arrivé du Convoy, qu'il attendait de jour en jour; ordonna que pour obvier à cela La visite fut faite dans toutes Les maisons françaises pour ôter à chacun ce qu'il pouvait avoir de Superflus, afin de L'economiser pour La subsistance de tous son Monde, ce qui fut Exécuté par Mr. hé, officier, Mr. Le Commissare des vivres et Mr. Le Juge qui furent dans toutes les maisons, ramassèrent du Bled, froment, La farine, des pois; du bled d'inde qui appertenoit aux Sauvages, que des français avoient en garde chez eux et que Les Sauvages n'avoient pas eû La précaution de retiré avant de commencer Leurs Belles Cacade; Ses Mrs. ramassèrent aussi de l'huile, du Suif et généralement de tous ce qui peut Servire a la

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to discover that the schooner was still in the lake. *Siege of Detroit* by Hough.

<sup>57</sup>Samson Fleming was acting as commissary in Detroit at this time and Le-Grand, living on St. Louis street, was judge. See *Journal of J. L.* (published by this Society in 1911), note 71.

for food, keeping an account of everything they took, and especially the names of the persons to whom the provisions belonged, assuring these of payment, at the same time giving them receipts for the same. Only the Indian corn belonging to the savages was confiscated for the general good. All the provisions were placed in the royal warehouse and served as defense against the famine which threatened the English.

May 25. Wednesday.

The Indians who had worn themselves out during a part of the preceding night wasting ammunition, rested till almost five o'clock in the afternoon before recommencing the attack as upon the day before. Only the chiefs and old men did not take a hand in the firing, and while the others rested they strolled about to discover what was passing and guard against surprise, suspecting the English all the time.

The French settlers of the shores were torn by conflicting feelings; some of them who were actually honest and moved by sentiments of humanity and religion groaned over the foolish enterprise of the Indians, and would willingly have sacrificed even the last bit of their property to check the Indian nations and bring about peace in the region; others who were governed by a feeling of unreasonable hostility, and had never cherished any sentiments of submission or respect would gladly have cast their lot with the Indians had it not been for the fear of public contempt; others still were in a vacillating condition, not knowing which of the two parties to join. But all alike, worn out as they were by conflicting opinions and the behavior of the Indians, had already assembled at different times at the houses of the oldest settlers to deliberate over some means of checking the Indians. The day before they had resolved that they ought to go to the camp and ask Pontiac for a council, and try to find out what his intentions were concerning the war.

To that end they selected fifteen whom the Indians



nourriture tenant un Etat de tous ce qu'ils prenoient de chaque chose en particulier, Le nom des personnes à qui les vivres appartenoient, dont ils donnaient des assurances de payment en Leurs delivrant des Billets, il ny eût que Le Bled dinde des sauvages qui fut confisqué à leurs profit toutes les provisions furent mises dans Les magasins du Roy, et qui servirent d'arme contre la disette dont ces Mrs. Etoient menacées.

25e May.—Le Mercredy 25 May.—Les Sauvages qui dans une parties de la nuit précédente S'étoient fatigué a employé de la munition mala propos, Se reposèrent jusque a Cinq heures après midy qu'ils recommencèrent, comme Le jour précédent, il n'y avoit que Les chefs et Les vieillards qui ne tiroient point et qui pendant que Les autres Se reposaient, Se promenoient pour Examiner ce qui Se passaient et pour n'estre point Surpris se méfiant toujours des anglais.

Les habitans des Costes qui étoient partagé par différens Sentimens, Les uns en veritable honneste gens, pénétré d'un Sentiment d'humanité et de religion gémissoient de la folle entreprise des Sauvages et auroient volontiers Sacrifier jusque à la dernière pièce de leurs Butin pour arrêté Les nations et mettre La paix dans L'endroit, d'autre gouverné par un Sentiment d'anthipatie mal fondé chez qui La Soumission ni Le respect n'ont jamais eu d'empire Se Seroient vollontiers jetté dans Le partie des Sauvages Si ce n'avait été La crainte d'un mepris général. Les autres etoient comme en équilibre, ne Sçachant Lequel des deux parties embrassé et qui tous ensemble étoient fatigué par ces diverses Sentimens, des courses des Sauvages S'étoient déjà assemblé en différente fois chez les plus anciens pour délibéré entre eux Sur un moyen d'arrêté Les nations, ils résolurent Le Jour précédent qu'il falait aller au Camp demander un Conseil à pondiak et tâché De Sçavoir quelles étoient Ses intentions dans cette guerre pour cette Effet Se choisirent au nombre de quinze Considéré, et Connue et aimé des sauvages furent au

knew and esteemed, proceeded to the camp and asked for a parley. Pontiac who had not been notified of this visit was surprised at it, and suspected some mystery which he as yet could not fathom. Nevertheless he received them cordially and asked what had brought them; his curiosity did not permit him to wait till they had told of themselves the reason for their visit. They all replied with one accord that they had come to talk over some business, and that they would be pleased to have all his chiefs hear what they had to say. Pontiac, who was anxious to know what the matter was, sent messengers to the Pottawattamies and the Hurons of the bad band, and they came in a short time. When they were all assembled the most revered among the French, taking the great chief by the hand, said addressing them all:

“My brothers, you seem surprised to see us. We have come here only to renew the ancient alliance which our fathers made with you, and which you are today destroying by bringing death upon us. When you began your attack upon the English you gave us to understand that you would do us no wrong. It is true you do us no personal harm, but it is nevertheless doing us harm to do what you are doing in killing our live stock. When they are all killed how do you think we shall be able to plow our fields, to sow and make bread for you? If only in killing them you did not waste half you would profit the more and hold out the longer, and we should not lose so much.

“When you enter our homes you enter with the tomahawk raised as if you intended to kill us while begging for food. Have we ever refused at any time when you have asked us? You do not speak to us any more like brothers, but like masters, and you treat us as we treat our slaves. Since when have you seen the Indians domineering over the French? Is this the way you promised your Father Belestre, when he departed, that you would love and cherish your French brothers? Avenge the insults which have been

Camp pour demander a parlé, pondiak qui n'était pas point prévenu de Cette visite en fut Surpris et Soupçonna quelque mistère qu'il ne pouvait encore penetré, néanmoins il Les reçuent très Biens et Leurs demanda ce qui Les ammenoit car Sa curiosité ne Luy parmis pas d'attendre que deux mesme, ils disent La Cause de Leurs demarche, il Luy fut repondue d'une Commune voix qu'ils venoient Luy parlé pour affaire qu'ils seroient flaté que tous ces chefs entendissent ce qu'ils avoient à dire, pondiak a qu'il tardait de savoir de quoy il étoit question envoya des émissaires aux paux et aux hurons de la mauvaise bande qui vinrent en peu de tems. Lorsque ils furent tous assemblé, Le plus Consideré d'entre Les françois qui étoient venus, prenant Le grand chefs par Le main dit à tous, Mes frères vous nous paroissez Surpris de nous voir, nous ne Sommes venus icy que pour renouvellee L'ancienne alliance que nos ancêtre ont faits avec vous et que vous detruisez aujourd'hui en nous donnant La mort, quand vous avez commncé à frapé Sur Les anglois vous nous avez faits entendre que vous ne vouliez pas nous faire aucun tord ny aucun mal, il est vray que vous ne nous faiste pas de mal, mais c'est toujours nous en faire que de nous faire Letord que vous nous faites, tuant nos animaux, quand vous Les aurez tous tué avec quoy, voulez-vous que nous Labourions nos terre, pour semer et vous faire du pain: Sy encore en Les tuant vous n'en perdiez pas La motier, vous auriez plus de profit et vous dureroient plus Longtemps et nous ne perderions pas tant.

Quand vous entrez chez nous, vous y entrez Le Casse teste Levé comme S'y vous voulliez nous tué, en nous demandant à manger. Es-ce que toutes Les fois que vous en avez demandé nous vous en avons refusé, ce n'est plus en frères que vous nous parlé, mais en maître et vous nous traité Comme nous faisons nos esclaves, depuis quand Es-ce que vous avez vû Les Sauvages Commandé Les françois, Es-ce là ce que vous avez promis à votre père Belestre quand il a partis, que vous aimeriez et Soutiendrez vos frères, Les françois, vangé Les insultes qui vous

offered you—we do not object,<sup>58</sup> but remember that we are all brothers and the children of your Great Father, the King of France. You are expecting him (Belestre) back, you say. When he returns to supply your needs, as he has already done, and sees that you have killed us and taken all that we were preserving for him, what will he say to you? Do you think he will give you presents to cover up the wrong you have done us? On the contrary, he will regard you as rebellious children and traitors, and instead of petting you he will make war upon you, and then you will have two nations upon you, the French and the English. Consider whether you want to have two enemies, or whether you will live as brothers among us.”

Pontiac who had not lost a single word of all that had been said, in the name of all the chiefs made reply to the French:

“My brothers, we have never intended to do you any injury or harm, neither have we pretended that any should be done you, but among my young men there are some, as among you, who are always doing harm in spite of all precautions that one can take. Moreover, it is not for personal vengeance merely that I am making war upon the English; it is for you, my brothers, as well as for us. When the English have insulted us in the councils which we have held with them, they have insulted you, too, without your knowing it. And since I and all my brothers, also, know that the English have taken away from you all means to avenge yourselves by disarming you and making you sign a paper which they have sent to their own country,—a thing they could not do to us,—for this reason we wish to avenge you equally with ourselves, and I swear the destruction of all that may be upon our lands.

“What is more, you do not know all the reasons which oblige me to act as I do. I have told you only what con-

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<sup>58</sup>In a letter from Croghan to Sir William Johnson, written in 1765, he says that “Pontiac and all the principal chiefs never pretend to deny that the French were at the bottom of the war—that they had an interest in stirring up the war—supplied the Indians with all their wants as far as possible. Pontiac and the chiefs call it the Beaver War, but in spite of this declaration they still love the French, who have adopted their customs and manners, and treat them civilly.”

ont été faites, nous ne nous y oposons pas, mais Souvenez vous que nous Sommes tous frères et Les enfans de vôtre grand père Le Roy de france, vous L'attendez, dites vous, quand il reviendra pour vous apporté vos Besoins comme il a déjà fait Et qu'il verra que vous nous aurez tué, et pris tous ce que nous Conservons pour Luy, que pourrât il vous dirent, Croyez vous qu'il vous fera des présens pour Couvrir Le Mal que vous aurez faits, non au contraire il vous regardera comme des enfans rebelle et Comme des traites, Et Bien Loing de vous caressé il vous fera La guerre pour Lors vous aurez deux nations à dos Les françois et Les anglais, voyez S'y vous voulez avoir deux ennemies ou bien si vous voulez vivre en frères avec nous.

Pondiak qui n'avait pas perdue un mot detout ce qui venoit d'estre dit pris La parolle à son tour au nom de tous les chefs, S'adressant. Aux françois: Mes frères, nous n'avons janiais eus en vue de vous faire aucun tord, ny aucun mal, n'y n'avons prétendus qu'ils vous en soient fais, mais parmis mes jeunes gens il y en a Comme parmis vous, qui malgré toutes Les précautions que L'on prend font toujours du mal, d'ailleurs Ce n'est pas pour me vanger Seulement que je fais La guerre aux anglois, C'est pour vous mes frères, comme pour nous, quand les anglais dans Les Conseils que nous avons tenus chez eux nous ont insulté, il vous ont insulté aussi Sans que vous L'ayez Sçu, et comme Je Sçay et tous nos frères aussi que Les anglais vous ont ôté tous moyens de vous venger en vous désarmant et vous faisant écrire Sur un papier qu'ils ont envoyé dans Leurs pays, ce qui n'ont pas pûs nous faire, c'est pourquoy je veux vous vangé également comme nous et Je jure Leurs perte tant qu'il y en aura Sur nos terres, En outre, vous ne Sçavez pas toutes Les raisons qui m'oblige à faire ce que Je fais, je ne vous ai dit que ce

cerns you, but you will know the rest in time. I know very well that many of you, my brothers, consider me a fool, but you will see in the future if I am what people say I am, and if I am wrong. I know very well, also, that there are some among you, my brothers, who side with the English in making war upon us<sup>59</sup> and that grieves me. As for them, I know them well and when our Great Father returns I shall name and point them out to him and they will see whether they or we will be most satisfied with the result in the end.

"I do not doubt, my brothers, that this war causes you annoyance because of the movements of our brothers who are coming and going in your homes constantly; I am chagrined at it, but do not think, my brothers, that I inspire the harm which is being done you. As a proof that I do not desire it just call to mind the war with the Foxes, and the way I behaved<sup>60</sup> as regards you seventeen years ago. Now when the Chippewas and Ottawas of Michillimackinac, and all the northern nations, came with the Sacs and Foxes to destroy you, who was it that defended you? Was it not I and my men?

"When Mackinaw, the great chief of all these nations, said in his council that he would carry the head of your commander<sup>61</sup> to his village, and devour his heart, and drink his blood, did I not take up your cause, and go to his village, and tell him that if he wanted to kill the French he would have to begin first with me and my men? Did I not help you rid yourselves of them and drive them away? How does it come then, my brothers, that you would think me today ready to turn my weapons against you? No, my brothers, I am the same French Pontiac who helped you seventeen years ago; I am French, and I want to die French, and I repeat that it is altogether your interests and mine that I avenge. Let me carry

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<sup>59</sup>Gladwin wrote Amherst July 8th, 1763: "Nevertheless, there are some Hon-est men among them to whom I am infinitely obliged; I mean, Sir, Monsieur Navarre, the two Baby's and my Interpreters, St. Martin and La Buté."

<sup>60</sup>Pontiac, according to his own account, had saved the French at Detroit

qui vous regarde vous scaurez Le reste avec le temps, Je Sçay Bien que Je passe parmis Beaucoup de vous, mes frères pour un Sot mais vous voirez à L'avenir Si je suis ce que L'on dit et S'y Jay tord. Je Sçay Bien aussi qu'il y en a parmis vous, mes frères qui prennent le parti anglais, pour nous faire La guerre, et cela me fait de la peine que par raport à eux, Je les Connais Bien Et quand nostre père à tous viendras, Je les nommeray et Les Luy montreray Et ils verons qui d'eux ou de vous Serons Le plus Contents par La Suite.

Je ne doute pas, mes frères, que cette guerre ne vous fatigue par raport aux mouvements de nos frères qui a tous momens vont et viennent chez vous, J'en suis fâché, mais ne croyez pas mes frères que Je souffre Le tord qui vous est faits et pour preuve que Je ne Le veux pas, qu'il vous Souviennent de La guerre des renards et de la manière dont Je me suis comporté à votre égard, il y a dix sept ans, aprésent quand Les sauteurs et outavois de Michellinakinak et toutes Les nations du nord Sont venus avec La Sok et Les renards pour vous deffaire, qui es ce qui vous deffendue n'est-ce pas moy et mes gens, quand mékinak, grand chef de toute ces nations dit dans son Conseil qu'il voullait emporté à Son village La teste de vostre Commandant, Et mangé Son Cœur et Boire Son Sang, n'ai-je pas pris vos interest. en allant à Son Camp Lui dire que S'il voulait tué Les français qu'il fallait qu'il commença par Moy Et mes gens, ne vous ai Je pas aidé à les deffaire et à les chassé, d'où vient voudriez vous mes frères que aujourd'hui Je tourne mes armes contre vous, non, mes frères Je suis Le Même pondiak français qui vous a presté La main il y a dix sept ans, Je suis français et Je veu mourrir français, Et Je vous Le repette Se sont tous ensemble vos interest et Les miens que Je vange. Laisse moy faire Je ne vous demande pas vostre

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from being massacred in 1746, when the great Chief Mickinac (the Turtle) came down to destroy that post.

<sup>61</sup>Paul Joseph Le Moine, Chev. de Longueuil, was commandant at Detroit in 1746.

out my plan. I do not demand your assistance, because I know you could not give it; I only ask you for provisions for myself and all my followers. If, however, you should like to help me I would not refuse; you would please me and get out of trouble the quicker, for I promise when the English shall be driven away from here, or killed, we shall all withdraw into our villages, following our custom, to await the coming of our French Father.

"Thus you see, my brothers, what my sentiments are. Do not worry. I shall see to it that neither my followers nor any other Indians harm you any further, but I ask that our women may have permission to raise our corn upon your fields and fallow lands. By allowing this you will oblige us greatly."

All the French replied that they were very willing. The council came to an end and the Frenchmen withdrew, satisfied with their negotiations with Pontiac. The very same day the Indian women began work in the corn fields, and several settlers ploughed fields for the planting, and that same afternoon Pontiac went all along the shores to give orders concerning the subsistence of all the Indians so that nothing more might be taken from the settlers by force.

The Commandant had observed that the Pottawattamies in camp southwest of the Fort since the departure of the sloop, came along the river edge under the shelter of the bank in which were two lime-kilns<sup>62</sup>, and stationed themselves in ambush behind these to fire upon the soldiers who were accustomed to go down to the river for their needs. In order to keep the Indians from coming any more to annoy them from that side, he ordered a portable bastion, or cavalier, to be built and placed on the shore to defend the edge of the river so that people could go down there without danger. Two carpenters and several persons who knew how to handle the axe were set to work upon this structure in the parade-ground. And since there were no

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<sup>62</sup>According to *Farmer*, there were several lime kilns near the stockade in 1763, and a number of stone buildings within its walls. (*Farmer's Hist. of Detroit.*)



secours, parce que Je Scay que vous ne Le pouvez pas, Je ne vous demande que des vivres pour moy et tous mes gens. Si cependant vous voulliez m'aidé, Je ne vous refuserais vous me feriez plaisir et vous seriez plus tost hors d'embarras parce que Je vous répons Les anglais seront chassé d'icy ou tué, nous nous retirerons tous dans nos villages, Suivant nostre Coutume pour y attendre notre père Le françois, ainsy vous voyez mes frères quel sont mes Sentimens Soyez tranquille Je veilleray pour qu'il ne vous Soit plus fait de tord par mes gens ny par d'autre sauvages, mais Je vous demande que nos femmes aye La liberté de faire nos bled Sur vos terres, dans vos friches nous vous Seront obligé, tous Les français repondirent qu'ils le vouillaient Bien. Le Conseil finis chaque français Se retira contents de leurs negociations avec pondiak et dès la même journée Les femmes Sauvages nièrent La main à L'oeuvre pour Leurs bleds et plusieurs habitants Leurs Labourèrent de la terre pour La semé, et pondiak fut dans l'après midy donner des ordres dans toutes Les Costes pour La Subsistance de tous Les Sauvages et pour qu'il ne fut plus rien pris par force au habitans.

Mr. Le Commandant qui S'était aperçu que depuis le départ de la barque que Les Sauvages poux qui étoient Campé au Sordouest du fort, venoient Le Long de la grève a couvert d'un costé qui La bordais, Et dans Laquelle étoient deux fourneaux a chaux, où Les Sauvages venoient Se mettre en Embuscade pour tiré Sur Les Soldats qui allaient à la rivière pour Leurs Besoins, il ordonna que pour empêcher que Les Sauvages ne vinssent plus inquiété de ce Coté Là, Lon fit un cavallier pour Estre mis Sur La grève pour garder et deffendre Le bord de la rivière affin que l'on put il aller sans risque, pour cela deux charpentiers et plusieurs personne qui Sçavoient manier La hache furent occupé pour travailler à cette Edifice sur la place d'arme, or comme il n'y avait dans le fort de Bois

timbers in the Fort suitable for this task, the workmen took the walks from in front of the houses and used them in the construction of this building which was ready for erection at five o'clock in the evening. To place this structure in the designated spot, it became necessary to carry the timbers from the Fort piece by piece. All the French in the Fort, together with some soldiers of the garrison, were ordered out, and they all passed the timbers through a postern which had been made to mount a cannon on the river side. When once the materials were on the outside it was no easy task to mortise and bolt them together because of the weight, but the eagerness of everybody to help enabled them to get around the difficulty when they came to it. When the structure was put together they tried to raise it, but did not succeed for two reasons: firstly, not enough men; secondly, and this was the greater reason, when the Indians who were in ambush in a ditch two hundred yards away saw some English among the French and recognized that the structure was going to be an obstacle for them, they fired several times upon everybody, and this caused the work to be abandoned on the spot. The erection was put over to the next day at dawn.

May 26. Thursday.

At the peep of day the French with some soldiers were ordered to raise the bastion which they had been compelled to abandon on account of the Indians who were now resting in their camps. This fact gave them time to mount it more easily, but they worked with all possible vigilance. As they were finishing and preparing to retire, a Frenchman thought he would stroll out towards the kilns; he was nearly shot by an Indian hidden in one of the kilns who ran as soon as he had fired to hide himself farther away in a trench where some others were. The Frenchman who mistrusted there were others came back as fast as he could and re-entered the fort with the rest.

de charpente propre pour cette ouvrage, Les ouvriers pririent Les banquettes de devant Les maisons qu'ils employèrent à la construction de cette batisse; qui sur Les Cinq heures du soir fut prest a dressé, il fallait pour Le mettre au Lieu destiné Sortir Le bois de dedans Le fort, pièce par pièce, tous Les français qui étoient dans Le fort furent Commandé avec quelque Soldats de la garnison et tous ensemble Sortirent Lebois par un guichet qui avait été fait pour mettre un pièce de canon du costé de la rivière; tous Le bois Sortis, de dressé cette ouvrage, toute ajusté, joins et chevillé, ce qui ne pouvait ce faire aisément à cause de la pesanteur, mais L'envie que chacun avoient de rendre service à ces messieurs fit que L'on passa dessus cette difficulté sans prévoir. L'ouvrage toute assemblé on Essay a vouloir Le mettre debout, mais inutilement pour deux raisons: La première pas assé de monde, La Seconde qui était La plus forte, Les Sauvages qui étoient en embuscade dans un fosé à trois arpents Loing delà, qui avoient vue des anglois parmi Les français et qui voyoient aussi que le batimens allait estre un obstacle pour eux firent plusieurs de charge sur tous Le monde, qui fut cause que L'on abandonna Louvrage Sur La place remettant au Lendemain à la petite aurore à la dressé.

26e May.—Le Jeudi 26e May.—à la petite pointe du jour Les français avec quelque Soldats furent Commandé pour dresser Le cavallier que L'on avait été Contraint d'abandonner à cause des Sauvages, qui actuellement Se reposaient dans Leurs Camps, ce qui donna Le tems de le monter plus facilement et qui fut fait avec toute La vigilance possible et comme L'on finissoient et que l'on Se préparait à Se retiré, un français voullus allé Se promené vers Les fourneaux, il manqua d'estre blessé par un sauvage qui était en découverte dans L'un des fourneaux et que Sitost qu'il eût Laché Son coup fut Se caché plus Loing dans un faussé en rejoindre d'autre, Le français se méfiant qu'il y en eût davantage Se retira au plus vite et rentra dans Le fort avec Les autres.

During this time a Frenchman by the name of Labroce, a resident of the Fort, who had gone out the day before with permission on a matter of business, returned with the news of the capture of Fort Sandusky<sup>63</sup> by the Hurons of the bad tribe. These had actually passed the night previous along the other shore of the river with a red flag flying from the stern of one of their canoes. Several had seen this but could not discover what it meant, though they suspected that the Indians had made some new capture. This was confirmed by the report of this man who told how he had seen the commandant of the captured place, and that the garrison had been slaughtered, the fort burned, and all the property, not only of the troops but of the traders there plundered.

The Commandant of the Fort said he would not believe anything of this until he saw a letter from the officer who was at the time a prisoner among the Ottawas, where the Hurons had taken him. This poor man upon his arrival had been very badly treated by the other Indians, who as they landed struck him with clubs and their fists and made him yell till he reached their camp. Here he was adopted at once by an Indian woman who had lost her husband; out of pity she took him for her second husband and in this way his life was saved.

Pontiac and the Ottawas who had learned from the Hurons upon their return that the little sloop was still at the mouth of the river, formed the plan of capturing her. To this end they went down early in the morning to the village of the Pottawattamies and confided their project to them. The Pottawattamies joined them in great glee, as if the affair was already accomplished. The Ottawa took with them their prisoner, Mr. Campbell, and his interpreter, Mr. La Butte, hoping that the presence of this officer would lead the people of the vessel to

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<sup>63</sup>Fort Sandusky was taken May 16th and most of the garrison put to death. The commander, Ensign Christopher Paully, was adopted by the Indians. Rutherford says that Paully made a very good Indian, being of a dark complexion. He was much liked by his master who soon adopted him into his family, by which he was exempted from all drudgery.

Pendant ce tems, un français nommé Mr. Labroce, domicilié du fort qui Le Jour précédent avec La permission avait Sorti pour affaire, rentra et apporta La nouvelle de la prise et défaite du fort Sans dosqué par Les Sauvages hurons de la mauvaise bande qui en avait, en effet, passé La veille de L'autre Costé de la rivière en Canot avec un pavillon rouge sur le derrière d'un de leurs Canots, ce qui fut vue de plusieurs qui ne pouvait pénétrer ce que Se pouvait être ne fesoient que soupçonné que les sauvages avoient fait quelques nouvelles captures, Ce qui fut verifié par le rapport de cette homme qui dit avoir vûe Le Commandant de la place prise et que La garnison avoient été tué, Le fort Brûlé et tout Le butin tant de la troupe que des Commerçans qui pouvoient Sy estre trouvé dans le tems, fut pillé. Le Commandant du fort n'en voulut rien croire à moins qu'il ne vit une lettre de cette officier qui pour Lors était prisonnier chez les Outaouis où Les hurons l'avoient mené; ce pauvre Mr. en arrivant fut extrêmement mal traité des autres Sauvages qui en débarquant Luy donnèrent de coup de poing & de baton, en le faisant chanter jusque a ce qu'il fut dans Leurs Camp, où il fut adopté tout aussitôt par une femme Sauvagesse qui avait perdue son Mary, qui regard en pitié Le prit pour Son Second Mary et par ce moyen il eut La vie Sauvé.

Pondiak et Les Sauvages Outaouis qui avaient Sçus par les hurons à leurs retour que la petite Barque était encore au bas de la rivière formèrent Le dessein de la prendre pour cela ils dessendirent dès le petit matin au village des poux à qui il firent participant de leurs projets, ces derniers se joignirent à eux avec grande joye comme S'y eût été une affaire fait. Les premiers avoient emmené avec eux Mr. Cambel Leur prisonnier et son interprète Mr. La Butte espérant que La présence de Cette officier feroient rendre Les gens de la barque et quelle serait à leur pouvoir,

surrender. But in this they were greatly mistaken. The men on the sloop would not hear to it, and their only reply to the Indians was cannon and gun shots; this compelled the savages to withdraw till evening when they thought they would succeed better. But the people of the vessel who were getting better acquainted all the time with the handling of the boat, suspecting that the Indians would make some new attempt in the night to capture them, and seeing that there were only seven men of them and that with this little force they could not long repulse two hundred, resolved to run for it. And so to frustrate the hopes of the Indians and to save themselves and the vessel from their clutches, they lifted anchor in the night and sailed for the open lake, heading for Niagara in accordance with the orders they had received from the Commandant when they left the Fort.

May 27. Friday.

The Indians who had tired themselves out to no purpose in their attempt to capture the sloop, luckily for the boat and those on board having failed in their project, returned to their camp with Mr. Campbell and the interpreter and remained there all day. There was no hostility on either side.

May 28. Saturday.

The Indians remained inactive all day. This was due to the fact that they were awaiting news of reinforcements<sup>64</sup> which, according to a runner who had come in the night, ought to arrive during the course of the day. For this reason they did not come to annoy the Fort. However, they were false to the promises which they had made the settlers and began again to kill and steal their live stock.

Toward five o'clock in the afternoon a very large number of Indians were seen in the woods behind the Fort. They came from the direction of the lake, going toward their camp; they waved scalps and uttered twenty death-

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<sup>64</sup>These reinforcements were being conducted to Detroit by Lieut Abraham Cuyler.

ils se trompèrent grossièrement, Les gens de la barque ne voullurent rien entendre et ne repondirent au Sauvages que a coup de canon et de fuSil, ce qui fit retirer Les Sauvages jusque aux soir, croyant mieux reussir dans La nuit, mais Les gens de la barque qui tous les jours devenoient au faite de la manoeuvre se méfiant que dans La nuit Les Sauvages feroit quelque nouvelle tentative pour Les prendre, avec ce qu'ils netoient que Sept hommes et que cette petite force, ce n'étoient pas pour Soutenir Long temps à deux cent hommes, resolurent de tirer au Large; ainsy pour fruster L'espérance des Sauvages et se sauver de leurs grife, aussi bien que La Barque ils Levèrent L'ancre dans La nuit et Lancèrent en plein Lac, faisant route pour niagara, suivant Les ordres qu'ils en avaient reçue du Commandant en partant de devant Lefort.

27e May.—Le vendredy 27e May.—Les Sauvages qui s'étoient fatigué inutilement pour prendre La Barque, ayant heureusement pour elle et pour ceux qui étaient de dans manqué Leurs coups, revinrent avec Mr. Cambel et l'interprète à leur camp et reposèrent tout le Jours. Il n'y eut aucune hostilité de part et d'autre.

28e May.—Le Samedy 28e May.—Les Sauvages furent tout le jour dans L'innaction parcequ'ils attendoient des nouvelles et du renfort qui suivant Le raport d'un Emissaire Sauvage venûs dans la nuit, Le renfort devait arrivé dans Le Courant de La Journée, ce qui fut cause qu'ils ne vinrent point inquieter Le fort, mais ils faussèrent les promesses que leurs chefs avoient fais aux habitans et recommencèrent à tué et volé Les animaux. Sur les cinq heures après midi L'on vit dans Le Bois derrière, Le fort un très grand nombre de Sauvages qui revenoient du Long du Lac Et remontoient pour Se rendre au Camp avec des chevelures faisant des cris de mort au nombre de vingt avec des cris de joye, pour faire connaitre qu'ils

cries mingled with yells of joy to announce that they had just come from an attack upon some place. It was the rest of those who had captured Fort Sandusky. At the same time a rumor reached the Fort that all the French who had gone in the employ of the English traders to Michillimackinac had been killed by the Chippewas and Ottawas of that place. This report which lacked confirmation turned out later to be false.

The Commandant ordered a sortie when he saw that the Indians were quiet. This was carried out by Mr. Hay, an officer, with twenty men, for the purpose of destroying an intrenchment which the Indians had made in the night to the southwest of the Fort, one hundred and twenty-five yards distant from the gate. The Hurons and Pottawatamies had come by stealth in the darkest part of the night to the fence of Mr. St. Martin, and taking some timbers almost twenty feet long which were near the fort had piled them up in two tiers to the height of a man, and had planted stakes in front and behind to support them. In this way, hidden behind these beams, they did not fear the balls from the cannon which faced them.

In the morning this work was discovered by the sentinels who informed the Commandant at once, and it was destroyed in its very inception, as it were, by these twenty men. They burned the fence, carried the timbers to the Fort, and cleared the field in such a way that no one could approach the Fort in the night as near as sixty-five yards without being seen.

May 29. Sunday.

The weather was unsettled all day, thus affording rest to both sides.

May 30. Monday.

The English had a seine which had not been used since the beginning of this fatal trouble. Several young Frenchmen asked for it, saying they would catch them some fish while catching some for themselves. It was got ready for them, and two soldiers who knew how to handle it were



venoient de frapé à quelque endroit, cestoient Le reste de ceux qui avoient défait Le fort de Sans dosqué.—dans le mesme temps il courû une nouvelle dans Lefort que tous Les français qui S'étoient engagé à des Commerçans anglois pour aller avec eux à Mechellimakinak avoient été tué par Les Sauteurs Et Les Outavois de ce poste, mais cette nouvelle qui méritais Confirmation Se trouva fausse par La Suite Mr. Le Commandant voyant que Les Sauvages étoient tranquille ordonna une Sortie qui fut faite par Mr. hé, officier de troupe à la teste de vingt homme pour défaire un retranchement que Les Sauvages avoient fait dans Le nuit au Sorouest du fort à deux arpens devant La porte, Les poux et Les hurons étoient venus dans Le plus obscure de la nuit à pas de Loup à la closture de Mr. St. Martin et avoient arrangé des pièces de bois de charpente qui étoient proche du fort qui avoient prés de vingt pieds de Long et Les avoient mis Les uns Sur Les autres à deux rang de frond à la hauteur d'homme et auroient planté des piquets pour Les Soutenirent devant Et derrière, de sorte que étant caché derrière ces pièces il ne craignoient point Le Boulet du Canon qui était vis à vis, ce travail fut vûe Le matin par Les factionnaires qui en informèrent aussitôt Le Commandant, Et fut pour ainsi dire détruit dans sa naissance par ces vingt Soldats qui Brulèrent La clotûre, mirent Les pieux contre Le fort et La campagne fut nette de Sorte qu'il ne pouvait approché personne du fort Sans estre vue, et Lemoins d'un arpent dans La nuit.

29e May.—Le dimanche 29e de May.—Le temps fut inconstant tout Le jour, ce qui donna du repos aux deux parties.

30e May.—Le Lundy 30, May.—Ces Messieurs avoient une Seine qui depuis Le commencement de cette fatal scène n'avait pas Servis, plusieurs jeunes français La demandèrent disant à ces Mrs. qu'ils Leurs pecheroient du poisson en peschant pour eux, elle Leurs fit presté et L'ont joingnit avec eux deux Soldats qui Sçavoient L'arrangé

sent to help them. But they did not have a chance to catch a single fish, or even to cast the net in the water; the Indians who were in ambush in a ditch three hundred and fifty yards from the Fort saw them without being seen. Knowing very well that the French did not make use of the seine for their own fishing, they suspected that they were only helping the English. They fired several times upon the fishermen and their boat, so that they landed quickly and returned to the fort no better off than when they went out with the seine which was never used again.

Around nine o'clock in the forenoon, a soldier strolling along the sentry-walk talking with a sentinel in the flag bastion which faces the river saw some craft appearing at Montreal Point<sup>65</sup> on the Huron village side of the river. The objects appeared to be barges with people in them. This soldier, as well as all the others, knew that the convoy was expected at any time with relief of provisions and men, and he hurried to notify the officer of the guard of what he had just seen. The officer, convinced, went to inform the Commandant and the other officers. All these came with the troops and traders, and climbed upon the bastion in order themselves to verify the soldier's report and find out exactly what it was. They saw with a field glass that it was really the convoy which had been so long expected. This caused great joy through the hope that reinforcements arriving would change the attitude of the Indians. However, the joy was short-lived, being killed in its very birth, for it was interrupted by a number of war-cries which could be heard from the same place where the boats were in sight; it immediately gave place to gloom and forebodings for the convoy,<sup>66</sup> because they thought then that the Indians

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<sup>65</sup>Montreal Point is the western extremity of the crescent of land on the south side of the river, extending from the lower end of Belle Isle to Petit Cote, opposite the end of the West Boulevard in Detroit—land on which the Huron Mission was built.

<sup>66</sup>This convoy was sent to Detroit under Lieut Cuyler, of the Queen's Company of Rangers, Capt. Hopkins' Independent Company. It left Niagara May 13th, and consisted of ninety-seven men, ten batteaux and 139 barrels of provisions. It was attacked on May 29th at Pelée Point and Sergeant Cope, fifteen Privates of the Royal American Regiment, Serg't Fislinger and forty-two of the Rangers, one child and one woman were killed. Lieut Cuyler and

pour Leurs aidé, mais ils neurent pas Le Loisir denprendre une piece et mesme pas Le tems de Jetté La Seine à L'eau Les Sauvages qui étoient en embuscade, dans un fossé à cinq arpens du fort, qui Les voyait Sans estre vue et qui Scavait Bien que Les françois ne faisait pas usage de Seine pour Leurs pesche, avec ce qu'ils se méfiait que c'étoit en partie pour ces messieurs, firent pluseurs décharge Sur Les pescheur et Sur La Berge, qu'ils revinrent promptement à terre Et rentrèrent dans Le fort comme ils étaient Sortis avec La Seine qui n'a plus Servis depuis ce tems.

Sur Les 9 heures du matin un Soldat qui Se promenait Sur Le chemin de ronde avec, Le factionnaire dans Le Bastion du pavillon qui faisait face à la rivière, en causant ensemble; il vit paroistre à la pointe du Montréal du costé du village des hurons quelque voiture d'eau qui Luy paroissait estre des berges avec du monde dedans, Ce Soldat aussi Bien que tous Les autres qui Sçavoient que L'on attendait de moment en moment Le convoy, par Lequel il venait du secours de vivres et de monde, courû viste avertir L'officier de garde ce qu'il venait de voir, L'officier, point incrédule fût avertir Le Commandant et tous Les autres officiers qui tout ensemble vinrent avec La troupe et Les Commerçants monté Sur Le Bastillon pour verifié par eux mesme Le raport du Soldat, et de découvrir au juste ce qui ce pouvait estre, L'on vit avec une Longue vue que cestait en effet Le convoy S'y longtemps attendue ce qui causa une grande joye, esperant que le renfort rendûe dans La place ferait changé de Sentimens aux Sauvages, mais cette joye fut courte, Et mourû dans Sa Naissance, étant interrompûe par une quantité de cris de mort que L'on entendit du mesme endroit où était les voitures que L'on voyaient et qui tout à coup faisant Succédé La tristesse fit mal anguré du Convoy. Se doutant Bien pour Lors que Les Sauvages

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a party escaped with two batteaux and five barrells of provisions. Sergt. Cope was stationed at Detroit in Oct., 1762, and may have been the sergeant here mentioned.

<sup>67</sup>When they reached Sandusky they found it in ruins and therefore made their way to Presqu'île where they reported their disaster to Ensign Christie.

had discovered and captured the boats and killed the men. And this was the case.

The Hurons of the evil band, and the Pottawattamies, had learned some days before that the sergeant who had set out for Niagara in the preceding April in quest of provisions and men was returning with both for relief of the Fort, and they resolved upon the destruction of all. To that end they went and lay in ambush upon the shore of the lake where they could watch them pass. This sergeant, who did not know what had happened at the fort, because all was quiet when he left for Niagara, did not have any suspicions of the Indians and sailed along peacefully and without fear on the lake to Pine Point (Point Pelée), forty-five miles from Detroit, where he camped for the night to do the cooking for the next day, following the custom of the *voyageurs*. The Indians who were hidden in bushes and dense shrubs exactly in that spot allowed them to disembark and pitch camp, and even pass the night undisturbed. The people of the convoy, thinking themselves secure, were content merely to put a guard over the boats for fear the wind might come up in the night and set them adrift. The others rested in peace.

The Indians who were planning to attack them did not sleep any during the night for fear their prey should escape them while they slept. At daybreak they fell upon the voyagers who were fast asleep. Without giving them time to defend themselves they rushed upon the camp, massacred several, and made prisoners of the remainder, with the exception of thirty-five men and an officer who threw themselves almost naked into two barges and put out across the lake at a venture in the direction of Sandusky<sup>67</sup>. All the remaining barges to the number of eighteen, and from twenty to thirty men, fell into the clutches of the savages who brought them into the river to take them to Pontiac's camp by going up along the other shore, one after another, in a string.

Les avoient découverts et S'étaient enparé de voiture après avoir tué Le monde, ce qui était aussi.

Les hurons de mauvaise Bande et les poux qui quelque Jours, auparavant avoient eû nouvelle, que le Sergent qui était partis pour Niagara, Le mois d'Avril précédent pour aller chercher des vivres et du monde, revenait avec du secours pour le fort, des deux façon, resolurent La perte dutout, pour cela ils setoient allé embusquer Sur Le bord du Lac pour Les guster passé, ce Sergent qui n'était point prevenûs de ce qui sepassait au fort, avec ce que quand il partis pour niagara tout étoient Bien tranquille, ne se méfiait point des nations, vogois paisiblement et Sans crainte Sur Le Lac, jusque à la pointe à pin à dix huit Lieux du Détroit où il campa Le Soir, suivant La Coutume des voyageurs pour faire chaudière pour Le Landemain. Les Sauvages qui étaient directement caché en cette endroit dans des Buissons et des petits bois toufûs Les Laisèrent débarqué et dressé Leurs Camp et mesme passé La nuit tranquille, ceux du Convoy qui se croyaient en sûreté Se contentèrent de mettre seulement une garde aux voiture, crainte que le vent venant dans La nuit à prendre tout à coup, n'envoya Les Berges au Large et tout le restent reposoient tranquillement.

Les Sauvages qui avoient desseins de faire coup Sur eux ne dormirent pas de la nuit de peur que endormant Leurs preye ne vint à leurs échapé et à la pointe du jour attaquèrent nos voyageurs qui étoient encor endormis Sans Leurs donné Le tems de Se reveillé tombèrent Sur Le Camp en massacrèrent plusieurs et prirent Les autres prisonniers à la Réserve trente cinq hommes et un officier qui presque tous nud Se jettèrent dans deux Berges et traversèrent Le Lac à tout hazard du Coste de Sandosqué Sans Sçavoir où ils allaient tout le reste des Berges au nombre de dix huit avec environs de vingt à trente hommes, aux mains des Sauvages qui. S'emparèrent de tout Et Les amènerent dans La rivière pour Les Conduire au camp de pondiak et Les faisait monté Le long du

In the first barge were four English soldiers and three Indians, and the other boats were manned about the same. Other Indians followed the barges along the shore uttering from time to time war-cries and yells of joy. When the four Englishmen came opposite the big vessel which was anchored in front of the Fort as a counter-defense, they undertook to escape in spite of the savages who were with them and the risk they were taking. They hoped that the sloop would notice their design and assist them, as was the case, and they turned straight toward her. When the Indians with them saw their prisoners' scheme they threw themselves upon them to make them take another course, but the Englishmen never wavered, keeping right on yelling to the vessel which at once replied with two cannon shots, one a ball at the Indians who were on land shooting at the escaping English in the boat, the other of grape-shot at the Indians who were in the stern of the barge.

The two shots produced the expected effect. The cannon-ball scattered the savages on the shore, and the grape-shot caused those on the barge to abandon it by jumping overboard to swim ashore. One of the three, as he leaped into the water, dragged an Englishman with him and both were drowned together. The other two gained the shore and seizing guns from their companions fired upon the escaping barge, and slightly wounded a soldier in the right arm. The vessel fired two more shots at the Indians and drove them from the edge of the river; the three remaining soldiers with the barge reached the other boat with difficulty, badly used up, saving themselves and fourteen hundred pounds of flour, and a thousand pounds of bacon.

The rest of the Indians who had remained behind saw how the first barge with the soldiers had escaped in spite of the efforts of their companions, and they feared that the others would escape likewise. They decided on other means of getting to camp; landing, they tied their prisoners and led them in this way overland to the Ottawa village, and then carried them in canoes which their women had

bord de la barge de l'autre costé de la rivière à la queue L'une de l'autre, dans la première il y avait quatre soldats anglais et trois Sauvages et dans les autres berges à proportion étaient à peu près La mesme quantité de monde et d'autres Sauvages, Suivaient par terre Les berges qui allaient par eaux faisant des cris de mort et des cris de Joye de distance en distance, Les quatre anglais qui étoient dans La première Berge Se voyant au droit de la grosse Berge qui était resté mouillé devant Lefort pour La Contre-gardé, entreprirent de Se Sauver, malgré Les Sauvages qui étoient avec eux Sans envisagé Le risque qu'ils Courroient Espérant que La Barque S'apercevant de leurs desseins Les favoriseroient, ce qui fut aussi, de Sorte qu'ils tournèrent droit à elle. Les Sauvages qui étoient avec eux qui voyant Les desseins de leurs prisonniers se jettèrent Sur eux pour Leur faire prendre une autre route, mais Les anglais Sans se demonté poursuivirent toujours en criant à la barge, qui aussitôt envoya deux coups de canon, un a boulet Sur Les Sauvages, qui étoient à terre qui tiroient sur Les anglais de la berge, et L'autre la raisin dans le derrière de la berge Sur Les Sauvages qui y étoient, les deux coups de Canon firent L'effet qu'ils S'étoient attendue, Le Boulet fit fuire Les Sauvages qui étaient à terre et le raisin firent abandonné Au Sauvage La berge et Se jettant à la nage pour gagner terre un des trois en se Jettant à L'eau entraîna un anglais et Se noyèrent tous deux de compagnie. Les deux autres se rendirent à terre, et prirent des fusils de leur camarade tirèrent Sur La berge qui Leurs echapoient et Blessèrent Légèrement un Soldat au bras droit. La barque envoya encore deux coup de canon Sur Les Sauvages qui Les fit éclipsé du bord de la rivière et La berge et les trois autres Soldats se rendirent abord avec peine et bien maltraité et Sauvèrent avec eux Sept quart de farine et cinq de Lard.

Les autres sauvages qui étaient resté derrière, qui avoient vû que malgré que Leurs comarade, de la première Berge avec Les Soldats S'étoient Sauvé et craignant que Les autres ne Leurs échapassent de mesme, prirent d'autres me Sures pour Les rendre au Camp, faisant débarqué Leurs

brought straight to Pontiac's camp. Upon their arrival here, following orders which they had received, they engaged in a butchery so bloody that the mere recital of it arouses as much horror as the spectacle itself. This is the way of it:

As soon as the canoes had landed in front of the camp the savages disembarked their prisoners, one company after another, upon the strand and made them strip naked, and other Indians then discharged their arrows into all parts of their bodies. Sometimes these poor unfortunates tried to pull back or lie down on the ground to avoid some arrow, but the Indians who were near made them get up by beating them with clubs and their fists. In order to satisfy these tigers thirsting for human blood, the poor victims had to keep standing till they fell dead in their tracks, and then those who had not engaged in killing fell upon the dead bodies and hacked them to pieces, cooked them, and feasted upon them. Some they treated with different cruelty, slashing them alive with gun-flints, stabbing them with spears, cutting off their hands and feet and letting them bathe in their own blood and die in agony; others were bound to stakes and burned by children in a slow fire.

There was no cruelty savagery could invent which these poor wretches did not suffer. At sight of the terrible spectacle one would have said that all the demons had been let loose upon these unhappy mortals. As a crowning wickedness, some of the dead bodies were left lying unburied along the way; others were cast into the river which in this way received the last sad remnants of their rage. Even the Indian women took a hand, helping their husbands to glut themselves with the blood of these poor victims by likewise inflicting a thousand cruelties upon them. They vied with one another in seeing who could cause the greatest suffering; they slashed them with knife-cuts, as we do when we want to lard beef; and some of the women mutilated them to the point of emasculation. I could never fin-



prisonniers qu'ils Lièrent et Les Conduisirent en cette état par terre jusque au village des Outavois et les traversèrent, dans leurs canots que leurs femmes avoient ammenées, droit au Camp de pondiak, ou en arrivant Suivant Ses ordres ils en firent une boucherie des plus sanglantes dont Le recit Seul fait frémir, que le Spectacle voicy comment : Sitost que Les Canots furent arrivés à terre vis-à-vis du camp, Ses barbares firent débarqués Leurs prisonniers Les uns après Les autres Sur le bord de la grève Les faisant deshabillés tout nud et d'autres Sauvages décochèrent dessus des flèches dans toutes Les parties du corps, quelquefois ces pauvres maheureux Se voullaient detourné ou se jetoient à terre pour éviter quelque trait. Les Sauvages qui étaient a costé Les fesoient selevé à tour de baton et de point il falait pour contenter ces tigres avide du sang humain que ces pauvre patiens restassent debout, Jusque à ce qu'ils tombassent mort, après quoi ceux qui n'avoient point tiré tombaient sur les corps morts, Les hachioient par morceaux, Les fesaient cuire et S'en rassaisisoient, sur d'autres ils exerçoient d'autre cruauté Les coupant tout en vie avec des pièces à fusil Les dardoient à coup de Lance Leurs coupoient Les pieds et les mains et Les Laissoient baigner dans Leurs Sang mourir de Souffrance, d'autre étoient attaché à des poteaux que Les enfans fesoient Brûle à petit feux, il n'y avoient de cruauté que La Barbarie n'invente que ces pauvre maheureux n'ayant Souffert, à voir ce terrible Spectacle on aurait dit que toutes Les furies étaient dechainés contre ces pauvres gens et pour couronné Leur tyrannie Les corps mort restèrent en partie étendue Le Long du chemin Sans Sépulture et Les autres étoient Jetté à la rivière qui pour Lors devenait héritière des triste reste de leurs rage, il y avait Jusque aux femmes Sauvages qui S'en méloient, aidant à Leurs maris à se repaître de Sang de ces tristes victimes en Leurs faisant aussi Souffrir milles cruautés, c'était à qui Les feroient plus Souffrir, Les dardeant à coup de couteau comme quand nous voulons Larder du boeuf, d'autre femmes Leurs coupoient ce

ish if I wished to undertake the (complete) description of the cruel sacrifice and the sad end of all the unfortunates. However, there were some<sup>68</sup> whose lives were saved by being adopted to work as slaves in the camp of the savages and witness the tyrannical death of their countrymen.

After they had surrendered their prisoners to the Ottawas, the Hurons returned to join the guards of the captured barges which they took to their own villages along with the sergeant in charge of the convoy. They kept him with the intention of treating him as the Ottawas had treated the others, and waited till dusk to take the barges to Pontiac, the great chief, so that he and all his band might share their prize.

The barges were loaded with powder and lead in bars, which was lucky for the Indians who were running short. There were also flour and bacon, each barge carrying a ton of each, and liquor and fresh provisions for the officers of the Fort. The liquor caused great disorder in the camp; the savages got drunk and fought among themselves, and the taunts exchanged led to the death of two young braves the next day.

The Indian women who understood the behavior of their men hid their weapons while they were drinking for fear they would kill one another; and in order that the adopted prisoners should not suffer any they secreted them out of their husbands' sight. The chiefs, however, did not drink, and when they saw the disorder which the liquor caused in camp they knocked in the rest of the barrels and spilled the contents on the ground. In this way concord was restored.

Pontiac kept Campbell and MacDougal, his two prisoners, under his eyes; through a ruse in the first days of the siege he had them hidden some distance away at the house of a French settler, under guard of ten reliable Indians, so that no harm should befall them.

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<sup>68</sup>John Severings and James Connor were kept to serve the Indians and were made to work upon the rafts built by the Indians. Thomas Cooper was put upon a farm and never saw a Frenchman during his life with the Indians. *Gladwin MMS.*

qui fait l'homme. Je n'aurais jamais fini Si Je voullais entreprendre La description de Sy cruelle Sacrifice et de la triste fin de tous Ses malheureux, il y en eût, cependant quelqu'un qui eurent La vie Sauvé étant adopté pour Servir comme esclave chez Les Sauvages dans Leurs Camp, et pour Estre Spectateur de la mort tyrannique de Leurs compatriote.

Les hurons qui avoient Livrés aux outaouis Leurs prisonniers, Etaient revenus rejoindre Les gardiens des Berges qu'ils menèrent à Leurs villages avec Le Sergent conducteur des berges qu'ils avoient gardé pour Luy en faire autant que Les Outaouis avoient fait aux autres, et attendèrent Jusque à la Brune pour mener les berges chez pondiak Le grand chef pour Le faire Luy et toute sa bande participant de leurs prise.

Ces berges étaient chargé de poudre et plomb en barre ce qui fit Bien au Sauvages qui étoient près d'en manquer, il y avait des farines et du Lard en quard, chaque berge avoient dix quart, tant farine que Lard, il y avait aussi de la boisson et des rafraichissements pour ces messieurs du fort, les boissons causèrent un grand désordre dans le Camp. Les Sauvages Se Soulèrent et se sont batûe Entre eux, se faisant de reproche qui furent cause de La mort de deux jeunes Etourdies Le Lendemain.

Les femmes Sauvages qui étaient au faites de la manœuvre de leurs maris Lorsqu'ils buvoient cachèrent Leurs armes offensives de peur qu'ils ne se tuassent Entre eux, et craignant aussi que Les prisonniers adopté n'en souffrissent, ils furent Les caché hors de la vue de leurs maris, il n'y eu que Les chefs qui ne burent point qui S'apercevant du désordre que causait La boisson dans Leurs Camp, deffoncèrent Le reste des Barils et renversèrent Les Boisson par terre et par ce moyen remis L'union entre eux.

Pondiak qui couvaient de ses yeux Mrs. Cambel et Magdan, Ses deux priSonniers avait fait par ruse Les premiers jours de L'attaque Les fit caché au Loing chez un habitans français et les commis à la garde de dix Sauvages considéré pour qu'il ne Leurs arriva point aucun mal.

May 31. Tuesday.

In spite of the precautions which Pontiac had taken against further disorder among his men by spilling the liquor, there was still enough of it left so that some Indians filled kettles to the brim with brandy, and took them into the woods where they could drink more at their ease during the night. Then they came back drunk to stir up quarrels with the young men by insulting them about the courage a good warrior ought to show; and these young braves who were also under the influence of drink were so aroused and puffed up with pride that they went recklessly to prove their courage and so met their death before the Fort.

Two of them ran up as if they would take the Fort themselves by assault; the sentries who were on guard above the north gate, when they saw them coming as hard as they could run, suspected that they had some evil design in view and fired down and mortally wounded both of them. One received a bullet which traversed his head from side to side, going in at the right eye and coming out on the left side above the jaw, and two buck shots through the body in two places; he dropped in his tracks, and was picked up by the soldiers of the garrison and brought to the Fort. Here he was exposed to public gaze as long as he remained alive from his wounds, and then buried in a corner of the bastion. The other savage, his companion, was shot twice through the body, and crawled away and died almost a fifth of a mile from the Fort. Other Indians carried him away and buried him near their camp.

The Indians of the camp, sick on account of their drinking of the day before, kept quiet the whole day and did not come to fire a single shot at the Fort.

A Frenchman who had stayed in the Fort to keep watch of a private house which was just outside, and who was getting tired of being shut up, was looking for some way to escape, but did not know how to do it. As he knew that the Commandant was casting about quietly for a

31e May.—Le Mardy 31e May.—Malgré Les précautions que pondiak avoit prise pour qu'il n'arriva plus de désordre parmi Ses gens en renversant la boisson, il y en eu encore par lequel quelque Sauvage qui avoient emplis des chaudières toute pleine d'eau de vie Et S'étoient allé mettre dans le Bois pour Boire plus à leurs aise dans La nuit Et étant Soul vinrent au Camp pour engendré querelle aux jeunes gens, Leur faisant des reproches touchant Le courage dont un bon guerrier doit être munis, ces derniers qui étoient aussi pris de boisson Se trouvèrent tellement piqué et gonflé d'Orgueil, pour prouver Leurs courage qu'ils vinrent imprudemment cherché Leurs mort au pied du fort En accourant comme S'ils eussent voulluent à deux qu'ils étoient Le prendre d'assaut. Les factionnaires qui étaient audessus de la porte du costé du nord es Les voyant vinrent à toute jambe Se mefièrent bien qu'ils avaient quelque mauvais dessein tirèrent dessus et Les Blessèrent tous deux à mort. L'un reçue une balle qui Luy perçait La teste de pore en pore entrant par l'oeil droit et Sortait à gauche au dessus de la mâchoir et deux postes qui Luy traversait Le corps a deux endroits ce qui Lefit tombé Sur la place et fut ramassé par des Soldats de la garnison, Et entré dans Le fort Exposé à la vue du public tout le temp qu'il a resté en vie, après Ses blessures et fut enterré dans un coin de Bastillon. L'autre sauvage, Son camarade reçu deux Balles aux travers du corps et fut mourir à cinq arpens du fort et fut ramassé par d'autre Sauvages et Enterré près du Camp.

Les Sauvages du Camp malades de la Boisson qu'ils avaient bu Le jour précédent furent en repos tous Le jours et ne vinrent point tiré Sur le fort, un français qui était resté dans le fort pour gardé La Maison particulier qui étoient dehors et qui chagrin de Se voir renfermé, cherchois tous Les moyens de Sortir pour S'épouffer, mais il ne savait comment faire, comme il Sçavait que Mr. Le Commandant cherchais par sous main un homme fiable pour

trustworthy man to send to Niagara overland to warn the commander of that place of what was occurring here, he resolved to make himself of use to the officers under the pretext that he knew how to speak English a little, and in this way get a chance to go outside. To this end he relied upon the assistance of an English trader to whom he reported all that the other Frenchmen said among themselves. This trader who had had several conversations with him in which he sounded him to the bottom, saw that he was a scoundrel and a traitor to his country, and would not present him to the Commandant.

Seeing that the trader did not listen to him and that he could not accomplish anything in this way, Luneau—this was the Frenchman's name—made use of the influence of a young woman who was intimate with the officers. This young woman whose name was Miss Des Rivières<sup>69</sup> mentioned him to the Commandant, at the same time extolling his ability and making mention of the fact that he could speak English. The Commandant sent for him; he came and without much examination was engaged upon the word of this young woman for the errand which the Commandant wanted done. He was equipped with all that he would need for the trip; and beginning with this day his pay was reckoned at six livres per day, to be given him upon his return. The same evening he received letters for Niagara, and in the night he departed and was rowed across the river by the soldiers. However, the scoundrel, instead of heading for Niagara when he landed, as he had led the officer to believe he would do, remained on the eastern shore a whole day, divulging what was happening at the Fort. Next, he went down to the southern neighborhood where he spoke shamefully of the officers, and retailed a tissue of absurdities about the French who were in the fort. Several people, as soon as they saw he was a knave,

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<sup>69</sup>There was an Angelique Des Rivières who stood sponser at several baptisms during the year of the siege. She later became the wife of Lieut Edward Abbott, commander of a detachment of Royal Artillery. Lieut. Abbott was appointed lieutenant-governor of Vincennes but returned to Detroit with his family in 1773.

Evoyé à Niagara par terre pour avertir Le Commandant de cette place ce qui ce passait icy, il resolué de se rendre Serviable à Ses Mrs. Sous prétexte qu'il Sçavait un peu parlé anglais espérant par ce moyen avoir La Clef des champs, pour cette effet, il employa Le crédit d'un marchand anglais à qui il raportait tous ce que Les autres français disait entre eux, ce marchand qui avait eû avec Luy plusieurs entretiens dans Lesquelles il L'avait sondé dans L'intérieur, Le connaissait pour un fourbe et un traite à sa patrie ne voullû point Le présenter à Mr. Le Commandant. Luneaié, c'est ainsy que S'appelait ce français, voyant qu'il n'était pas écouté du marchand et qu'il ne pouvait réussir par son moyen employa Le crédit d'une demoiselle qui avais Beaucoup d'accès, chez Ses Messieurs, cette d<sup>elle</sup>, nommée Mlle. des rivières Le proposa à Mr. Le Commandant Luy faisant valloir Ses talents disant qu'il savait parlé anglais, Mr. Le Commandant voulu Levoir, il parû devant Luy et Sans beaucoup d'examain Sur La parole de cette d<sup>elle</sup>, il fut accepté pour le message que Le Commandant voulait faire faire, on L'équipa de tout ce qui pouvait Luy estre nécessaire pour Sa route et Ses Journées a comté de ce jour furent marqué six £ par jour pour Luy estre payé à Son retour et Sur le Soir il reçue Les Lettres pour niagara et sortis dans La nuit, et fut traversé par des Soldats, Le coquin au lieu de prendre en débarquant la route pour Niagara, comme il L'avait fait espéré à se Mr. il resta dans la coste de l'est, toute la journée a dévulgué ce qui sepassait au fort, après il descendit dans la coste du Sud à dire du mal de ses Mrs. et débiter une infinité de Sotises des français qui étoient dans le fort, plusieurs personnes S'en aperçurent que c'était un coquin Le menacèrent de Leprendre et de L'ammener au fort pour Le faire punir, Lui craignant que Les menaces n'eurent Leurs effets Se Sauva et

threatened to take him and hand him over to the Fort for his just deserts; and fearing these threats might be carried out, he fled off toward the Illinois country in a couple of days and was never seen in the region again.

When the Commandant learned through the avowal of this young woman the same day that the Frenchman had already offered himself several times and had asked the trader to speak for him, he reprimanded the trader for not having done so. The trader offered as excuse that he did not know this man, and that he did not want to introduce him without knowing him well, because for such commissions one needed men who could be relied upon. As soon as the Commandant discovered the rascally trick which the Frenchman had played upon him, he praised the conduct of the trader and blamed the indiscreet zeal of the young woman; she was, so to speak, regarded by him with contempt, this being the proper reward which her work deserved.

June 1. Wednesday.

About two o'clock in the morning two soldiers and a trader who had been captured and adopted by the Indians escaped from their camp and reached the Fort. It was learned from them that Wasson<sup>70</sup>, the great chief of the Chippewas of Saginaw, had arrived the day before with two hundred savages of his band; and that immediately after his arrival at Pontiac's camp they had held a council and decided to harass the Fort no longer but to bar the approaches so that no more assistance could reach the English, and to this end the Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, and Pottawattamies were to depart this very day to go and prowl around the lake and capture the English they should find there.

The thing which seemed to confirm what the prisoners

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<sup>70</sup>It was Wasson who avenged the death of his nephew by killing Capt. Campbell on July 4th. During Rutherford's captivity, Wasson purchased the captive and brought him to live in his family. He treated him kindly, giving him no labors to perform and intimated that he wanted him to become his son-in-law. Wasson was one of the company who attended Morris on a part of his trip to the Illinois country in 1764. His name is spelled in many ways: Wassong, Warsong, Wasso and Owasser.



pris La route pour Les illinois au bout de trois jours et n'a plus parûs sur Les terres de L'endroit.

Mr. Le Commandant Sçue par Laveu de cette demoiselle Le mesme jour que ce français S'était offert déjà plusieurs fois et qu'il avait employé Le marchand pour parlé pour Luy, réprimanda Le Marchand de ne L'avoir pas dit Le Marchand s'excusa Sur ce qu'il ne connaissait pas cet homme et qu'il ne voulait pas Le présenté Sans Le Bien connaître, parce que pour des Commissions pareilles il fallait des hommes de qui L'on fut Sure, Sistot que Le Commandant Sçut Le tour de coquin que Le français faisait Loua La conduite du marchand et Blama Lezelle indiscret de la demoiselle qui fut pour ainsi dire regardé du Commandant qu'avec mēpris, comme étant La juste récompense quelle méritais de Son travail.

1er de Juin.—Le mercredi pre. de Juin.—Sur Les deux heures du matin deux Soldats et un marchand qui avaient été pris par Les Sauvages et adopté Se Sauvèrent du camp et Sont entré dans Le fort L'on Sçu par eux que Ouasson grand chef des Sauteurs du Saguinaw était arrivé avec deux cens Sauvages de Sa bande Le Jour précédent, Et qu'en arrivant au Camp de pondiak, ils avoient tenus conseil pour ne plus inquieter Le fort, que Les passages ne fussent Baré, pour qu'il ne vint plus de Secours à Ses Mrs. et pour cela Les Sauvages Outavois, Sauteurs, hurons et poux devaient partir ce jour pour aller rodé Sur Le Lac pour prendre Les anglais qu'ils y verroient, ce qui fit croire que ce que Les prisonniers echapé raportaient était vraix, c'est que L'on vis passer par derrière Lefort pardans Le Bois, aux Environs de trois cens hommes qui dessendaient pour Se joindre aux paux et aux hurons qui étoient campé à une denie Lieux au dessous du fort, pour aller tous ensemble ecumer Le Lac, il ne restait dans les camps que Les chefs de chaque nation pour donner Leurs aides aux jeunes gens qui restaient avec eux pour La garde des en-

had reported was that people saw passing behind the Fort through the woods something like three hundred men, who were going down to join the Pottawattamies and Hurons encamped a mile and a quarter below the Fort, so that all could together go to scour the lake. Only the chiefs of each nation were left in camp to give their help to the young men who remained behind to guard the section around the Fort so the Englishmen could not get out to visit the surrounding regions—a thing they had no desire to do, knowing full well it would not be good for them.

In the afternoon of the same day the judge and the commissary for the third time made a round of the French houses to collect food for subsistence till the return of the sloop which was expected before long.

June 2. Thursday; Corpus Christi Day.

In the course of the afternoon some shots were fired by the savages who had stayed to watch the neighborhood of the Fort. However, it amounted to so little that the officers were content to observe their doing without returning the fire, seeing very well that it would be so much powder wasted.

In the night, around three o'clock in the morning, an English soldier who had been a prisoner of the Ottawas escaped from their camp and reached the Fort entirely naked. He brought a letter to the Commandant which Mr. Campbell who was actually a prisoner in the camp gave him for Mr. Gladwyn. This letter had been found by the Hurons in the spoils of the leader (of a convoy) whom they had killed, and was brought into the camp to Pontiac. He gave it to Mr. Campbell to read, having Mr. La Butte, his interpreter, explain it to him. Mr. Campbell aided in the flight of the prisoner in order to enable the letter to reach Mr. Gladwyn, Commandant of the Fort. It was written by an officer of Niagara to a friend of his in command at Miami, and in it he noted the conclusion of peace

viens du fort, de peur qu'il ne Sortis aucun anglais du fort pour aller dans Les Costes ce qu'ils n'avoient pas en vie de faire Sçachant Bien qu'il ny faisait pas bon pour eux.

Ce mesme jour, L'après midy, Le Juge et Le Commissaire, la troisième fois—firent La visite dans Les maison françaises pour avoir des vivres pour Subsister jusqu'au retour de la barque que L'on attendait sous peu.

2e Juin.—Le Jeudij 2e de Juin.—Jour de la grande feste De Dieu il y eût quelque coup de fusil de tire dans L'après midy de la part des Sauvages qui étoient resté pour gardé Les environs du fort, mais ce fut Si peu de chose que ces Mrs. se contentèrent de Les regardé faire, Sans faire tiré Sur eux, voyant Bien que se céroient de la poudre employé mal à propos.

Dans la nuit sur Les trois heures du matin un engagé anglais qui était prisonnier chez Les Outaouis Se Sauva du Camp tout nud et vint au fort et apporta une Lettre à Mr. Le Commandant que Mr. Cambel qui était actuellement prisonnier au Camp Luy donna pour remettre à Mr. Gladouine.

Cette lettre avait été trouvé par les hurons dans Les dépouilles du conducteur qu'ils avoient tué et qui fut apporté au Camp a pondiak qui La donna à Mr. Cambel pour La lire Se faisant expliqué par Mr. La Butte son interprète. Mr. Cambel facilita La fuite du prisonnier pour La faire tenir à Mr. Gladouine, Commandant de la place, cette Lettre était écrite par un officier de Niagara à un officier de Ses amis, Commandant aux Mis-à-Mis, dans Laquelle il Luy marquait Les conclusions de la paix avec Les circonstances ce qui donna Lieu Sur Le Soir à un concert d'instrument en réjouissance d'une Si bonne nouvelle.

3e Juin.—Le vendredy 3e Juin.—Les Sauvages furent tranquille toute La journée Sinon La garde à L'entour du fort Suivant Leurs Coutumes, Sur les dix heures du matin

with all the circumstances<sup>71</sup>. This was the occasion of a band concert in the evening to celebrate the good news.

June 3. Friday.

Except for those on guard around the Fort the Indians were quiet all day, as was their custom. About ten o'clock the judge received orders from the Commandant to assemble all the French who were in the Fort to read to them the letter which he had received the day before by the prisoner who had escaped. This letter had been translated into French by a trader who spoke French well; it announced that peace had been declared between England and France, and by virtue of agreement made between the two crowns, Canada, with all the Illinois country, remained in the hands of the English.

June 4. Saturday.

The Indians did on this day as on the preceding. About four o'clock in the afternoon the people of the Fort heard war-cries from the Indians who were returning by land on the other side of the river from the direction of the lake. No one knew<sup>72</sup> exactly what these cries meant except that it was mistrusted the Indians had made some capture upon the lake.

June 5. Sunday.

The Indians fired a few shots at the Fort merely to announce that they had not all departed for the lake, and that they did not intend to desist from their mad enterprise. The shots did such little damage that the officers gave them no notice.

In the afternoon about two o'clock Indian war-cries, as on the preceding day, were heard on the other shore of the river. At these cries several persons mounted the sentry-walks to discover what it was. A number of savages were seen,—some on foot, some on horseback, uttering yells of

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<sup>71</sup>The *Siege of Detroit*, June 2 "In the afternoon a Frenchman brought in a letter that was enclosed to me from Niagara, which Capt. Campbell gave in, by which we were informed that the definitive Treaty was signed at London the 20th of Feb." This letter was evidently addressed to Ensign Robert Holmes at Miami and enclosed in a letter from Campbell to the author of the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*.

Mr. Le Juge reçu ordres de Mr. Le Commandant du fort de faire assemblé tous Les français qui étoient dans le fort pour Leurs faire La lecture de La Lettre qu'il avait reçue Le jour précédent par Le prisonnier qui S'étais Sauvé, cette lettre avait été traduite en français par un Commerçant qui parlois bon français, elle contenais que La paix était faite entre L'angletère et Lafrance et par accord faite entre Les deux Couronnes. Le Canada restait au pouvoir de Mrs. Les anglais avec toutes les illinois.

4e Juin.—Le Samedi 4e Juin.—Les Sauvages furent cette journée comme La précédente Sur Les quatre heures de l'après midy, il fut entendue du fort des cris de mort venant de la part des Sauvages qui revenoient à terre du costé du Lac de l'autre bord de La rivière L'on ne pus pas Sçavoir au juste ce que pouvait estre ces cris, Si non que L'on se mesiaient qu'ils avaient quelque Capture Sur Le Lac.

5e Juin.—Le dimanche 5e de Juin.—Les Sauvages tirèrent quelque coup de fusil Sur le fort Seulement pour faire conncitre, qu'il n'étoient pas tous partis pour Le Lac et qu'il ne voullotent pas demordre de leurs folles entreprise. Les coups qu'ils tirèrent furent si peu de chose qu'il ne méritèrent pas l'attention de Se Mr.

Sur Les deux heures après midy il fut encore entendue comme Le jour précédent des cris de mort de l'autre Bord de la rivière qui venoient de la part des Sauvages à ces cris plusieurs personnes montèrent Sur Les chemins de ronde pour découvrir ce que pouvait Estre L'on vit une quantité de Sauvages qui étoient à terre Les uns à pied Les autres à cheval faisant de Sacquoquois et des cris de

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<sup>72</sup>During the evening it was learned that these demonstrations were due to the rejoicing over the capture of Fort Miami. On May 27th, Fort Miami was surprised and taken. Ensign Robert Holmes, in command of the fort, was murdered and some of the garrison made prisoners. Jacques Godfroy and Miny Chesne were accused of having taken part in its capture. *Gladwin MMS.*

victory and joy; others were bringing up two barges with merchandise and the traders which they had captured upon the lake, going up along the shore on the other side of the river with their prisoners. The sloop, thinking to make them abandon their prizes, fired several cannon shots at them, but they were too high or too low, and the savages jeered and went on with their capture to Pontiac's camp.

June 6. Monday.

The weather, a little dark and even rainy, caused the Indians to be content to hover around the neighborhood of the Fort without firing a shot. On the other hand, others went to the homes of the settlers to procure provisions which were voluntarily surrendered. This did not prevent the savages from constantly harming them by killing oxen, cows, or swine, and even in their cornfields which they spoiled by their going and coming; they did not dare pass along the big road for fear of the large sloop which sent a cannon ball as soon as anyone was visible.

June 7. Tuesday.

The Indians who had not fired a shot for two or three days and were getting tired of not using powder, came and kept up a fusillade upon the Fort from ten in the morning till seven at night. As they had neither barns nor any other buildings to hide behind and shelter their approach, they fired from behind the bluff, and frequently from within the woods which were almost seven hundred yards distant from the Fort, and separated by the hill in such a way that their shots sometimes passed over the Fort. Other Indians were concealed farther away along the fences around the fields of the settlers, or in the farm buildings often beyond the range of the sentries' guns, because of the hidden defenses which protected the three principal sides of the Fort. About seven o'clock they ceased firing and withdrew as satisfied as when they began.

June 8. Wednesday.

About eight o'clock in the morning the Indians came to commence firing. It appeared, as will be seen, that when

joye, d'autre Sauvage qui amenaient deux berges chargé de marchandises avec des marchands qu'ils avoient pris sur Le Lac, et remontaient avec Ses prisonniers de L'autre bord de La rivière Le long de tere, La barque croyant Leur faire Laché prise Leurs envoya plusieurs coups de canon qui furent tiré trop haut ou trop bas Les Sauvages S'en moquèrent et poursuivirent Leur route jusqu'au Camp de pondiak avec Leurs prises.

6e Juin.—Le Lundy 6e de Juin.—Le tems un peu embruné et mesme un peu pluvieux fut cause que Les Sauvages Se contentèrent de veillé aux environs du fort Sans tiré un coup de fusil, mais d'autre en revanche furent chez Les habitans Leurs faire donner des vivres, ce qu'il fesoient volontairement, cela n'empêchait pas que Les Sauvages Leurs fissent toujours queque tord en tuant Soit boeuf, vache, ou cochon et mesme dans Les bled qu'ils gâtoient en allant et venant, parce qu'il n'osaient passer Le Long du grand chemin à cause de Lagrose Barque qui des Lorsqu'elle en voyait quelqu'un elle tiroit dessus.

7e Juin.—Le mardy 7e de Juin.—Les Sauvages qui depuis deux ou trois jours n'avoient point tiré S'ennuyèrent de ne point user de la poudre, vinrent Sur Les dix heures du matin tire fu Sillé Sur le fort jusques à Sept heur du soir. Comme ils n'avoient plus ny grange ny autre batiment pour Se cacher et faire Les approche, ils tiroient de derrière Le coteau et Bien Souvent de dedans Le bois qui étoit éloigné du fort près de dix arpens et Saporé par Le Costeau de sorte que Souvent Leurs coup passaient par dessus Le fort, d'autre Sauvages étoient plus Loing caché Le Long de cloture des terres des habitans ou dans des granges éloigné Souvent ors de la porté des fusils de factionnaire a cause des capon qui batoient Sur Les trois principal face du fort, Sur Les Sept heures, ils cessèrent de tiré et seretirèrent aussi Satisfait que quand ils ont commencé.

8e Juin.—Le mercredi 8e Juin.—Les Sauvages vinrent Sur les huit heures du matin pour tiré il paroissait mesme

they began the action they intended to keep it up for some time, but a slight rain changed their minds and compelled them to retire to their camp. They left guards only, according to their custom, to see that nobody went out or came in who might be an obstacle to them. Still, there were always some going and coming, but these were respected among the Indians who did not have any distrust of them.

In the afternoon the officers were warned by a resident of the region that the Indians planned to make an assault during the night under cover of the storm. The officers who had become acquainted with the strategy of the savages since the beginning of hostilities replied that they were ready for them. They thought that this pretended enterprise would end like the others; but since distrust is the mother of security, in order not to be surprised they were on their guard with the troops the whole night long which passed as quietly as if they had been in their beds. At sunset three war-cries were heard in the direction of the Huron village, but no one knew what it meant.

June 9. Thursday; Little Corpus Christi Day.

The Indians who kept up their firing through impetuosity only, were quite tranquil all day. Toward three o'clock in the afternoon thirteen war-cries were heard on the other side of the river, and the curiosity of a good many English and French was aroused; they mounted to the top of the stockade to discover the cause of it. One could see a large number of Indians on horseback and on foot, running about uttering war-whoops and yells of joy, and firing upon the big sloop which was anchored in front of the Fort; one could also see other Indians who were coming by water along the land with three barges<sup>73</sup> and some prisoners that they had captured upon the lake. These Indians were a part of those who had gone to watch the lake. When they passed in front of the sloop, she fired

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<sup>73</sup>These barges were taken by the Chippewas near where Cuyler was surprised. There were eleven persons in them, two were killed and the rest made prisoners. *Siege of Detroit.*



que suivant comme il commençoient Leurs actions il avoient en vie de tiré Longtemps mais une petite pluie Les fit changé de sentimens et Les obligea de Se retirer à leurs camp Laissant seulement Leurs gardes Suivant Leurs coutumes pour veillé qu'il ne Sortis et rentra personne qui pût Leurs estre un obstacle, cependant il y avait toujours quelqu'un qui alloient Et venoient, ceux Là étoient considéré parmi Les Sauvages et ils ne se méfiaient pas deux.

Dans L'après midy Ses Mrs. furent avertis par un domicilié de la Compagne que Les Sauvages avoient dessein de monter à Lassaut dans la nuit à la faveur du mauvais tems, Ses Mrs. qui depuis cette événement étoient commencé etoient devenus afaite de la manoeuvre des Sauvages firent réponce qu'ils Les attendoient Se d'autant que cette prétendue entreprise se termineroient comme Les autres, mais comme La mefiance Est La Mère de Sureté ils Se tinrent Sur Leurs garde toute la nuit avec toute Leurs troupe pour n'estre point Surpris et La passèrent aussi tranquillement que Sils fusent couché dans Leurs Lits, et au Soleil couchant vers le village des hurons il fut entendû trois cris de mort Sans que L'on put Sçavoir ce que Se pouvait estre.

9e Juin.—Le Jeudi 9e Juin.—Jour de la petite feste de Dieu Les Sauvages qui ne tiroient que par fougue furent assez tranquille toute la journée, vers les trois heures après midy L'on entendis faire de l'autre Bord de la rivière par des Sauvages treize cris de mort qui Excitèrent La curiosité de beaucoup de personne anglois et français qui montèrent Sur Les pieux du fort pour découvrir ce que pouvoit Estre, L'on apperçu une grande quantité de Sauvages qui étoient à cheval et à pied qui couraient fesant des cris de joye et repetant Les cris de mort en tirant Sur La grosse Barque qui était mouillé devant Le fort. L'on vit aussi d'autre Sauvage qui venoient par eaux Le Long de terre avec trois Berge et des prisonniers qu'ils avoient pris Sur Le Lac, ces Sauvages étoient de ceux qui avoient été pour Ecumer Le Lac, en passant devant La Barque elle Leurs envoya

at them five cannon shots of grape and ball which wounded some without hindering them from continuing their course.

Around evening of the same day it was learned through a Frenchman that the remainder of the band of Sekahos, chief of the Chippewas of the Thames River, had arrived during the preceding night, and that they numbered forty-five men. With the coming of this last band the savages numbered eight hundred fifty, all actually in camp or around the lake, and all of different nations and under different chiefs; there were two hundred fifty Ottawas under Pontiac; one hundred fifty Pottawattamies under Ninivois; fifty Hurons governed by Takay; two hundred fifty Chippewas under Wasson; one hundred seventy of the Chippewas under Sekahos; all of whom were under the authority of Pontiac, their over-chief. They would all have been good dogs if they had wanted to bite.

June 10. Friday.

The Indians who had remained in the camp the day preceding received news from the Hurons, who arrived from hunting in the woods back of little Lake Sandusky, that the officer<sup>74</sup> who had escaped with his thirty-five men was among the Sandusky islands. Pontiac said they must be caught so they should not carry the news to Niagara, and he detached fifty men from those of his camp; they passed in the rear of the Fort to go and notify the three hundred who had set out on the first of June to scour the lake, and were to join themselves to them to capture the officer. Fortunately, before the last forty joined the others the officer had left the islands with his two barges and taken route for Niagara along the south of the lake.

The Pottawattamies of St. Joseph, who had attacked the English and had taken possession of the fort<sup>75</sup> there by killing part of the garrison and making prisoners of the others, had left the fort in charge of the French<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Lieut. Cuyler, who had arrived at Presqu'île on June 3rd. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIX, p. 188.

<sup>75</sup>Fort St. Joseph was taken by Washee, chief of the Pottawattamies, on May 25th. Ensign Francis Schlosser was in command at the time and was brought to Detroit, a prisoner. Ten of the garrison were killed and three made prisoners. It was Schlosser whom the Indians offered in exchange for the two Indian captives, held by the English. *Gladwin MMS.*

cinq coups de canon à boulet et à raisin qui en blessa quelqu'un Sans Leurs empêché de Continuer Leurs route, Sur Le Soir du mesme Jour L'on Sçut par un français que le reste de la Bande de Sekahos, chef des Sauteux de la rivière à la tranche était arrivé dans La nuit précédente et composoient quarante Cinq hommes, Cette dernière Bande arrivé L'on faisait nombre de huit cent cinquante Sauvages, tant actuellement dans Les camps que Sur Le Lac, tout de différentes nations et gouverné par différens chefs, qui était deux cent cinquante Outaouis gouverné par pondiak, cent cinquante pour gouverné par innivois, Cinquante hurons par tacé, deux cent cinquante Sauteux par Ouasson et cent Soixante et dix autres Sauteux par Sekahos et qui tous étoient Sous l'autorité de pondiak Leurs grand chefs, qui tous auroient été bon chiens S'ils avoient voulu mordre.

10e Juin.—Le vendredi, 10e de Juin.—Les Sauvages qui étoient resté au Camp eurent nouvelle Le jour précédent par des hurons qui venaient de la chase dans le bois derrière Le petit Lac Sandosqué que L'officier qui S'était Sauvé avec Ses trente cinq hommes étoient dans Les îles de Sandosqué, pondiak dit qu'il fallait Les avoir pour qu'ils ne portassent point La nouvelle à Niagara et il détacha cinquante hommes de son Camp qui passèrent par derrière Le fort pour aller avertir les trois cents qui étaient partis le premier du présent mois pour Ecumer sur le Lac et se joindre à eux pour Le prendre, mais heureusement auparavant que ces derniers partis fussent rejoint Les autres, cette officier était sortis des îles avec Ses deux Barques et avait gagné route pour Niagara par le Sud du Lac.

Les paux de St. Joseph qui avaient frappé Sur Mrs. Les anglais et S'étoient rendue maistre du fort et après avoir défait une partie de la garnison et fait d'autre prisonnier Laissèrent Le fort aux pouvoirs des français Etablis dans

<sup>76</sup>The Indians evidently left Louis Chevalier (Louison Chevalie) in charge of that locality. He saved the lives of some of the English traders, Richard Winston, Hamback and Chin, and when the English were again established in the country he was given supervision over that part of the land although Fort St. Joseph was not reestablished. DePeyster trusted him, but Sinclair had him arrested and sent to Montreal on suspicion of being in correspondence with the Americans. He was born in 1720 and disappears from the records in 1782. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. 18, p. 372.

established in that locality, and come with their prisoners who numbered seven, including the commander, to join the Pottawattamies of Detroit. They reached the village the preceding night. When they learned that the English held two savages of their nation prisoner in the Fort, they came about four o'clock P. M. with a certain Mr. Gammel to the foot of the Fort to enter into negotiations with the Commandant concerning the exchange of the officer who commanded at St. Joseph for the two Indians in the Fort. The proposition did not suit the Commandant who wanted the Pottawattamies to surrender all their seven prisoners for the two Indians. The latter would not consent to this exchange and returned as they had come, deferring until the following day the conclusion of the exchange.

June 11. Saturday.

There still remained in the environs (of the Fort) one house and a shop which the fire had not been able to reach because of their remoteness somewhat from the others, and which served as a retreat for the Indians. An officer at the head of twenty men made a sortie to burn them and clear the plain. When he returned from this excursion the same officer had his men empty and clean out the boats and barges, which were beached in front of the Fort, and put them into condition for service in case the sloop which had left for Niagara did not return. If they should see themselves compelled by shortness of provisions to abandon the post, these boats with the large sloop would serve for them to fall back upon Niagara. The savages did not fire at all during the day.

\* This same day Mr. Lasel, Jr.,<sup>77</sup> arrived from Montreal with two canoe-loads of merchandise and liquor which he unloaded at Widow Gervaise's<sup>78</sup> to keep it from the

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<sup>77</sup>Jacques Lacelle, Jr., was son of Jacques and Mary Ann Lalande, of Montreal. He was born at Montreal May 1, 1735, married at Lachine, Feb. 18, 1765, Theresa Berthelet dit Savoyard. He settled in Detroit in 1775 and traded with the Miamis near Maumee Bay as early as May of that year. He was father of the River Raisin Lacelles. His aunt, Angelique Lacelle, married Pierre Descomps dit Labadie, of Detroit. The fact that Labadie was very friendly with the Indians may have had something to do with the Indians leaving Lacelle unmo-

cette endroit et vinrent avec Leurs prisonniers au nombre de Sept y compris Le Commandant rejoindre Les poux du Détroit et arrivèrent dans La nuit précédente au village, ayant sçue que Mrs. Les anglais avaient deux Sauvages de leurs nation prisonnier dans le fort vinrent sur Les quatre heures après midy avec un nomée Mr. gommelin au pied du fort pour entrer en accommodement avec le Commandant du fort et faire exchange donnant L'officier qui commandait St. Joseph pour les deux Sauvages qui étoient dans le fort : cette accommodement ne plû pas au commandant qui voullait que les paux rendissent tous les Sept prisonniers pour Les deux Sauvages qui ne voullurent consentir à cette échange et S'en retournèrent comme ils étaient venus remettant au Lendemain à conclure Leurs exchange.

11e Juin.—Samedi 11e Juin.—Comme il était encore resté dans le faubourg une maison et une boutique que le feu n'avait pu atteindre parce que elles étaient un peu éloigné des autres et qui servait de retraite au sauvages, il sortis un officier à la teste de vingt hommes pour les faire Brûlé et par ce moyen rendre la plaine libre, au retour de cette expédition Le mesme officier fit par son monde vidé et netoyé Les bateaux et les Berges qui étaient echoué devant le fort et Les mettre en état de Servir au besoin En cas que La Barque qui était partie pour Niagara ne revint point et Se voyant forcé faute de vivres d'abandonner, ses voitures avec La grosse Barque Leurs auroient Servis pour Se plier à Niagara. Les Sauvages ne tirèrent point de la journée.

Ce mesme jour, Mr. Lasel, fils, est arrivé de Montréal avec deux canotté de marchandise et de la boisson qu'il débarqua chez Madame La veuve Gervaise pour être à

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lested. Labadie was accused of painting and dressing his two sons and son-in-law to look like Indians. Lacelle was buried at Detroit Aug. 14, 1791. *Denis-sen's Genealogies MMS.*; *Gladwin MMS.*

<sup>78</sup>Louis Gervais, captain of militia, had a farm on the south side of the river. He was originally from Montreal and was about sixty years of age when he died Feb. 5, 1763. Sir William Johnson visited him when he made his trip to Detroit in 1761, but calls him Jarvis in his diary. His wife, Madelaine Langlois, died Oct. 27, 1763, aged about fifty-five years. *St. Anne's Church Records.*

clutches of the Indians, but he was "sold" and the Pottawattamies came and demanded some of it, threatening to plunder him if he did not share with them. To get rid of them he surrendered two barrels of wine.

Pontiac learned of this arrival almost as soon as the Pottawattamies; he knew that they had taken the liquor, and fearing that he would not get his share he crossed the river with his chiefs, visited Lasel, and ordered him to move his liquor up to the house of Jacques Campau,<sup>79</sup> near his camp. The goods were taken unharmed to the home of Mr. Labadie, Lasel's uncle.

When Mr. Lasel was induced to change his quarters Pontiac gave him to understand that being near his camp he would not be disturbed because he, Pontiac, would answer for his people; however, to have peace, he handed over five barrels and the savages left him alone.

The Pottawattamies who had come the day before to effect an exchange of prisoners came back this day at four o'clock, but returned no better off than they had come, reaching no more of a settlement this second time than the first.

June 12. Sunday.

The day passed very quietly at the Fort without any action on either side. Toward ten o'clock in the morning Mr. Cavallier<sup>80</sup> reached the house of Widow Gervaise with canoes loaded with wine and goods for the place, and from him it was learned that there was an abundance of all sorts of merchandise and provisions in Montreal at a low price. Around three o'clock P. M. the guards of the sloop brought to shore the dead bodies of several whom the Indians had massacred the day before; they were buried on the strand opposite the Fort.

June 13. Monday.

Rainy weather all day kept both sides from firing.

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<sup>79</sup>Jacques Campau was an officer of the militia and lived on his farm on the coast northeast of the fort, trading in the village. He was a son of Louis Campau and married Catharine Menard.

<sup>80</sup>Jacques Cavellier (Cavallier) was one of the victims of the siege. He was

couvert de recherche Sauvage, mais il fut vendu et Les paux fut Lui endemandé Le menaçant de le pillé S'ils ne leurs en donnaient pas, pour se débarrassé deux il leurs en abandonna deux barils de vin, pondiak, qui Sque cette arrivée presque aussitôt que Les paux et qui avait Sque que Les paux prenoient de la boisson, craignant n'en point avoir Sa part, traversa avec Ses chefs et fut trouvé La Sel et le fit monter avec Ses boissons chez Mr. Jacques Campau auprès du camp et Les marchandises furent menés sans aucun tort chez Mr. Labadie, oncle du Sieur La Sel.

Pondiak en faisant changé de place au Sieur La Sel, lui avait fait entendre que étant proche de son camp il ne serait point inquiété par ce qu'il répond de la part de ses gens, cependant pour avoir La tranquillité il Luy en coutâ cinq barrils et Les Sauvages Le laissèrent en repos.

Les paux qui étoient venus Le jour précédent pour faire échange des prisonniers revinrent ce jour à quatre heures, et s'en retournèrent comme ils étaient venus n'ayant pas plus conclus cette seconde fois que La première.

12<sup>e</sup> Juin.—Le dimanche 12<sup>e</sup> Juin.—La journée Se passa bien tranquille au fort et Sans aucune action de part ny d'autre. Sur les dix heures du matin Mr. Cavallier, arriva chez la veuve Gervais avec canots chargé de vin et de merchandise pour L'endroit, de Lui L'on Sque que Labondance règnait à Montréal de tous marchandises et vivre à grand marché. Sur les trois heures de l'après midy Les gardiens de dedans La barque amenèrent à tère plusieurs corp mort, de ceux que Les Sauvages avaient masacré Le jour précédent. Ces corps furent entérer Sur le bord de la grève vis à vis du fort.

13<sup>e</sup> Juin.—Le Lundy 13<sup>e</sup> Juin.—Le tems pluvieux toute la journée fit que L'on ne tira point ni de part ny d'autre.

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killed, and buried by the priest in the cemetery of St. Anne's Church, July 14, 1763. He was the son of Jacques, a master armorer, living in Montreal, and was about thirty years old. The Indians threatened both Lacelle and Cavalier if they went within a certain distance of the fort.

June 14. Tuesday.

The day was like the preceding up to four in the afternoon when the Indians fired a few shots which did not receive the least attention from the English. During the day the Indians visited Mr. Cavallier to get some liquor. He refused, whereupon the savages became enraged and plundered his whole stock of liquor, merchandise, and even the provisions he had brought for his return trip because he knew very well provisions would cost more here than in Montreal.

June 15. Wednesday.

The Indians who as a usual thing are not very fore-handed unless compelled by circumstances, had run out of provisions which they had captured with the barges of the convoy, and they had to depend upon the French settlers to live until they could take others. In addition to what was given them they also killed the stock of the settlers.

Along toward ten o'clock in the forenoon the Pottawattamies came for the third time to make an exchange of prisoners and give the commandant of St. Joseph and two soldiers for one of the Indian prisoners held by the English. They were disappointed in their exchange because they demanded the Indian named Big Ears who was greatly esteemed among them, and received one by the name of No-Kaming whom they regarded as a rogue. But the disappointment was due to No-Kaming himself who had the Commandant informed not to give the Pottawattamies the one of the two they asked for, but to give them himself instead, because the Pottawattamies had no regard for him; and since the other was a man of prominence in the nation, if he was kept, the Pottawattamies who wanted him would raise their offer and give all the prisoners. The advice, although coming from a savage, was accepted as good and he was given in exchange, and Big Ears was kept so as to obtain with him the other prisoners. But the Pottawattamies were hardly satisfied



14<sup>e</sup> Juin.—Le Mardy 14<sup>e</sup> Juin.—La journée se sentis de la précédente jusque Sur Les quatre heures après midy que Les Sauvages tirèrent quelque coup qui ne meritèrent pas La moindre attention de Ses Mrs. Ce jour Les Sauvages furent trouvé. Mr. Cavallier pour avoir de la boisson, il Leurs en refusa. Les Sauvages enragé contre Luy, lui pillèrent tous ses boissons, marchandises jusqu'à Ses vivres qu'il avait apporté pour s'en retourner Se doutant bien qu'il acheterais ici Les vivres plus cher qu'à Montreal.

15<sup>e</sup> Juin.—Le mercredi 15<sup>e</sup> de Juin.—Les Sauvages qui de Leurs ordinaire quand Les choses ne previennent pas de leurs cru, ne sont pas Beaucoup Economes, Et n'ayant plus de vivres de celles qu'ils avaient prises dans les Berges du convois qu'ils avaient defaits ils furent obligé d'avoir recours aux habitans pour Subsister jusqu'à ce qu'ils pussent en prendre d'autre, ils tuèrent aussi indépendemment de ce que L'on Leurs donnèrent Les animaux des habitans.

Sur Les dix heures du matin Les paux pour La troisième fois vinrent pour faire échange des prisonniers et donner le Commandant de St. Joseph avec deux soldats pour un des prisonniers Sauvage que Ses Mrs. avaient et ils furent trompé dans Leurs échange par ce qu'ils demandaient Celuy qui se nommait Les grandes Oreilles qui était Beaucoup considéré parmi eux et ils eurent à sa place un nommé Nokaming qu'ils regardaient parmi eux comme un coquin, mais cette tromperie vint de la part de ce Nokaming qui firent dire au Commandant de ne pas donner aux paux celuy des deux qu'ils demandaient mais de le donner Luy mesme à Sa place par ce que Les paux ne Le regardait guère, mais comme l'autre était considéré dans la nation et que s'il le gardait Les paux qui avaient envie de L'avoir donneraient en rehaussant tous Les prisonniers, Cette avis quoique venant de la part d'un Sauvage fut goûté et trouvé bonne et il fut donné en échange et les grandes Oreilles fut gardé par son moyen pour avoir d'autre prisonniers, mais

with their negotiations, finding themselves frustrated in their hopes.

June 16. Thursday.

The Indians were very quiet the whole day. Since it is a practice in all places besieged or blockaded by an enemy that silence be observed, and there be no ringing of church bells for any necessity whatever so that the enemy may not know the hours when the public frequent church, for that reason the bell of the parish church of this place had not sounded for any service since the commencement of the siege. When the Commandant learned from the curate the reason of this he gave permission to ring the bells for all the needs of the church, and it began its function at noon by sounding the Angelus.

About three o'clock P. M. the chiefs of the good Huron band, who had not taken any part in hostilities since Father Poitier in order to restrain them had refused them the sacrament, came for a parley. They entered the Fort by a false gate and discussed terms of peace with the Commandant, making many excuses for what they had done. The Commandant listened to them and gave them a flag which they accepted in sign of union, and they departed without any other conclusion than the flag.

June 17. Friday.

The day passed without any movement on the part of the Indians. Notwithstanding they had decided in council on the seventeenth of the previous month not to allow anyone from the outside to enter the Fort, still there were some favored ones who had liberty to come and go in order to watch over their affairs on both sides of the river as necessity demanded. It was through one of these that the Commandant learned that the sloop was in the lake off the entrance to the river, and had been seen by a man named Pipus, an Indian slave, who had been hunting in that quarter. When the sloop departed the Commandant had told the one in command that as soon as he should learn of his return to the river he would have a cannon fired in order

les paix n'étaient guère contens de leurs négoce se voyant frusté dans Leurs esperance.

16e Juin.—Le Jeudy 16e de Juin.—Les Sauvages furent fort tranquille toute La journée comme C'est L'ordinaire que toutes les places assiégé ou Bloqué par L'ennemi Le Silence y Soit observé et que les cloches des eglises ne Sonne point pour aucune necessité afin que l'ennemi ne Sçacha les heures que le public vont à l'église, or La cloche de L'église paroissiale de cette endroit n'avait pas sonné depuis le Commencement des Bloques pour aucune exercise de piété, Le commandant S'étant fait informé par le Curé, pourquoy la cloche ne sonnait plus, permis de la sonner pour tous Les Besoins de l'église et elle commença Sa fonction à midy en sonnant L'Angélus.

Sur Les trois heures Les chefs de la bonne bande des hurons qui, depuis que père poitier pour Les arrêté Leurs avoient refusé Les Sacrements, ils n'avoient plus frapés, vinrent cette journée Sur les trois heures après midy pour parlé ils entrèrent dans le fort par une fausse porte et traitèrent de paix avec Le Commandant fesant Bien des excuses touchant ce qu'ils avaient fait. Le Commandant Les écouta et Leur donna un pavillon qu'ils acceptèrent en signe d'union et S'en retournèrent Sans autre conclusion que Le pavillon.

17e Juin.—Le vendredy 17e Juin.—Se passa Sans aucun mouvement de la part des Sauvages, quoyque ils eussent dans Le conseil qu'ils avaient tenûs, le dix sept du mois précédent, décidé de ne Laissé passé personne de dehors pour entré dans Le fort, cependant il y eus quelque favorisé qui avoient La liberté d'aller et de venir pour vaquer à leurs affaires aux deux cotés du fort, Suivant que Le Besoin Les appeloient. Ce fut par le moyen d'un de ceux là que Mr. Le Commandant Sçu que La Barque était dans Le Lac à l'entré de la rivière Et qu'elle avait été vûe par un nommé répus, un panis qui avait été à la chasse de ce costé là Mr. Le Commandant qui en partant avait prevenû celui qui La commandait que aussitôt qu'il Saurait Son retour dans La rivière il Luy ferait tiré quelque coup

to tell him by this signal that he and his troops were still in the Fort. The Commandant did this at the first news; he ordered two cannon shots fired at sunset to notify the sloop that she could come up and that he, the Commandant, was still master of the Fort and neighborhood.

June 18. Saturday.

An inhabitant of the east coast opposite the Fort crossed the river about two in the morning to bring the Commandant certain news about the sloop. This led him to order the cannon by the southeast gate to fire twice at different intervals as a signal; the order was executed at five A. M.

At noon of the same day Father Dujonois<sup>81</sup>, the Jesuit missionary of the Ottawas from Michillimackinac, arrived with seven Indians of this nation, and eight Chippewas of the same place in command of one Kinonchamek<sup>82</sup>, son of the great chief of the nation. People learned through these of the defeat of the English at this post on the second of the month by the Chippewas. The Jesuit father was lodged with his confrère, the missionary to the Hurons.

June 19. Sunday.

The Fort was not molested; the arrival of the son of the great chief the day before caused a suspension of hostilities between the savages and the Fort. He located his camp in a meadow two miles and a half above the Fort, a mile and a quarter above Pontiac's camp. The Indians in camp went up to see him land and welcome him in the name of their chief; they were received pretty coldly and told that in the afternoon he and his followers would come to see Pontiac and hold a council. At this news Pontiac ordered all the Indians of each nation to remain in their lodges all day to hear the words of the great chief of the Chippewas by the mouth of his son.

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<sup>81</sup>Du Jauunay had arrived with a letter from Capt. Etherington giving an account of the capture of Mackinac and asking for assistance. Finding this post in a state of siege, he returned to Mackinac, where, with the aid of Charles Langlade, he procured the ransom of many officers and traders. Alexander Henry was one of the traders who escaped unharmed. Father Du Jauunay went to Mackinac in 1736 from his station at Oujatanon, among the Miamis. In 1744 he was transferred to the Ottawa Mission at L'Arbre Croche and Mackinac, and remained there until 1765.

de Canon afin qu'il put connaître par ce Signal que Le Commandant et tout son monde étoient dans le fort, ce que Mr. Le Commandant fit à cette première nouvelle, il ordonna qu'il fut tiré deux coups de canon au Soleil couchant pour avertir La barque qu'elle pouvait venir que Le Commandant étoit toujours maistre du fort et ses environs.

18e Juin.—Le Samedi 18e Juin.—Un domicilié de la Coste de l'est vis-à-vis du fort, traversa La rivière Sur Les deux heures du matin pour venir dire à Mr. Le Commandant des nouvelles certaines de la Barque, ce que Mr. Le Commandant ordonna que Le Canon qui étoit posté contre La porte du costé du Sorouest tirerais deux coups à tems différent pour Signal, ce qui fut executé Sur les cinq heures du matin.

Ce mesme jour à midi, Le père dujonois, Jesuite missionnaire des Outaouis de Michélimakinak arriva avec sept Sauvages de cette nation et huit Sauteurs du même endroit, commandé par un nommé Kinonchamek fils du grand chef de cette nation, par eux L'on Sçut La défaite de Mrs. Les anglais dans ce poste par Les Sauteurs Le deux de ce mois.

Le Père Jesuite fut logé avec Son Confrère Le missionnaire des hurons.

19e Juin.—Le dimanche 19e Juin.—Le fort ne fut pas inquiété L'arrivée du fils du grand chef, le jour précédent causa une suspension d'arme entre Le fort et les Sauvages il avait placé son camp a un demilieu audessus de celui de pondiak dans une prairie à une lieu audessus du fort, Les Sauvages d'ici furent Le voir au débarquement pour Luy donner Le Bon Jour de la part de leurs chef, ils furent reçue assez froidement et eurent pour réponce que aujourdhuy après midy il irait Luy et ses gens voir pondiak pour tenir Conseil, à cette nouvelle pondiak ordonna que tous les Sauvages de chaque nation se tinsent sur Leurs nattes toute la journée pour écouté Les paroles du grand chef

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<sup>82</sup>Kinonchamek had a granddaughter Marie, daughter of Nesxesouexité, who was baptized on May 9th, 1756, at Michilimackinac and married Claude Pellé de la Haye, a voyageur, at that place May 10, 1756.

While they were getting ready for the council there arrived at the Huron village toward ten o'clock in the morning two canoes of Shawanoes and Delawares from the Ohio River who came to see what was going on. Upon their arrival they learned of the coming of Kinonchamek and of the location of his camp; they did not disembark, but went straight to his camp to hold a council concerning what was taking place here. Two or three Frenchmen were called to give information about matters since the beginning of the siege by the Indians, and concerning all that had been done by Pontiac's orders, after which they were sent home.

Around two o'clock P. M. Kinonchamek, followed by his men and the Shawanoes and Delawares, came to Pontiac's camp to hold a council as he had had announced the night before. Upon his arrival all the chiefs assembled and grouped themselves in silence, after their custom, in a sort of circle. When each Indian had taken his place, Kinonchamek arose and spoke in the name of his father, addressing himself to Pontiac:

"We have learned at home, my brothers, that you are waging war very differently from us. Like you, we have undertaken to chase the English out of our territory and we have succeeded. And we did it without glutting ourselves with their blood after we had taken them, as you have done; we surprised them while playing a game of lacrosse at a time when they were unsuspecting. Our brothers, the French, knew nothing of our plan. The English found out that they were the ones we had a grudge against; they surrendered. We made prisoners of them and sent them unharmed to their Father in Montreal. The soldiers tried to defend their leaders; we killed them, but it was done in battle. We did not do any harm to the French, as you are doing; on the contrary<sup>83</sup>, we made them guardians and custodians of our captives."

<sup>83</sup>When the Indians took the fort on June 2nd, Charles Langlade was left in command of the fort by Capt. Etherington, who was made prisoner. Langlade, who was born at Mackinac in 1729, lived there, trading with the Indians, and served as a lieutenant of troops under the French regime. He was liked by the Indians.

de sauteux par la bouche de son fils, pendant Le temps que Les Sauvages se préparait pour Le Conseil il arriva Sur Les dix heures du matin au village des hurons, deux canots de Sauvages des Chavoinons et des Loups de la Belle rivière qui venaient icy pour voir ce qui S'y passait à Leurs arrivé ils Sçurent celle de Kinonchamek et Le Lieu de son camp, ils ne débarquèrent point et furent droit à Son camp pour y tenir Conseil sur ce qui se passait icy, deux ou trois français furent appelé pour Sçavoir deux tout ce qui S'était passé depuis le commencement de l'attaque du fort par les Sauvages et toutes les démarches faites par Les ordres de pondiak, après quoy ils furent renvoyés chez eux. Sur les deux heures après midi, Kinonchamek Suivis des Siens et des Chavoinons et des Loups vinrent au camp de pondiak pour tenir conseil comme il L'avait fait dire La veille, à son arrivée au camp, tous Les chefs S'assemblans et forment Suivant Leurs coutume un Espèce de cercle en silence, Lors que chaque Sauvages eût pris sa place, Kimonchamek Se leva et prenant La parole au nom de son père et S'adressant à pondiak, nous avons appris, chez nous, mes frères que vous faites La guerre tout autrement que nous, nous avons comme vous, entrepris de chasser Les anglais de dessus nos terres, Et nous y avons réussis, mais ça été Sans nous rassasier de leur Sangs, après Les avoir pris comme vous faites tous, nous Les avons Surpris en jouant à la Crosse dans un tems qu'ils ne S'y attendaient pas, nos frères Les françois ne Sça voient pas notre dessein, Les anglais s'aperçurent que c'était à eux que nous en voullions, ils se rendirent Et nous les avons faits prisonniers et nous Les avons renvoyé à leur père à Montréal sans leur faire aucun mal, Les Soldats ont voullû deffendre Les chefs, nous les avons tué, mais ça dans l'action, mais nous n'avons point fait du tors au françois comme vous faites. Bien au contraire nous Les avons faits gardien et dépositaire de nos prises, mais pour

(More directly to Pontiac):

"But as for thee, thou hast taken prisoners upon the lake, and the river, and after having brought them to thy camp thou hast killed them, and drunk their blood, and eaten their flesh. Is the flesh of men good for food? One eats only the flesh of deer and other animals which the Master of Life has placed on the earth. Moreover, in making war upon the English thou hast made war upon the French by killing their stock and devouring their provisions, and if they refuse thee anything thou hast had thy followers pillage them. We have not done so; we did not rely upon provisions from the French to make war; we took care when planning to attack the English to lay in provisions for ourselves, our wives, and our children. If thou hadst done likewise, thou wouldst not be in danger of incurring the reproaches of our Great Father when he shall come. Thou awaitest him, and we too, but he will be satisfied with us and not with thee."

Pontiac in the face of this speech was like a child surprised in some fault with no excuse to give, and he did not know what to say. As soon as Kinonchamek had finished speaking, the chief of the Eries spoke for his band and for the Delawares:

"My brothers, we have also fallen upon the English because the Master of Life by one of our brother Delawares told us to do so, but he forbade us to attack our brothers, the French, and thou hast done so. Is this what we had told thee by means of the wampum belts which we have sent thee? Ask our brothers, the Delawares, what the Master of Life had told to them: it is all right to kill during battle, but afterwards, and when one has taken prisoners, it is no longer of any value; nor is it to drink the blood or eat the flesh of men. Since thou art French as well as we, ask our brothers, the French, if, when they are making war and have taken prisoners, they kill those whom they have brought home with them. No, they do not, but they keep them to exchange for their own men



toy tus afait des prisonniers Sur le lac et sur la rivière et après les avoir faits venir à ton camp, tus Les as tué, a bû Leurs sang et mangé Leurs viande, Es ce que La viande des hommes est faite pour manger. L'on ne mange que La viande des chevreuils et des autres animaux que Le maître de la vie a mis Sur terre, deplus en fesant La guerre aux anglois, tu l'a fait aux françois en tuant Leurs animeaux et mangeant Leurs vivres, Et quand ils te refusent quelque chose, tu les fais pillé par Les tiens, nous n'avons pas fait de même, nous ne nous Sommes pas attenduent aux vivres des français pour faire La guerre, nous avons euent Soin en formant Le dessein de frapé Sur Les anglois de faire nos provisions pour nous, pour nos femmes et nos enfans, il falait vous autres en faire de même, vous ne Seriez pas à la veille d'avoir des reproches de nostre grand père de france quand il viendra, tu l'attends et nous aussi, mais il sera content de nous et non pas de toy, pondiak à ce discours était comme un Enfant que Lon Surprend en faute, qui n'a point d'excuse à donné, ne Sçait que dire, Sitost que Kinonchamek eut fini de parlé, Le chef des chats pris La parole pour Sa bande et pour Les Loups, mes frères, nous avons aussi frapé Sur Les anglais par ce que le maître de la vie nous La fait dire par un de nos frères Loup, mais il nous a deffendûe de fraper Sur nos frères Les françois, et toy tus y frape.

Es ce là ce que nous t'avons fais dire par Les colliers que nous t'avons envoyé, demande à nos frères Les Loups ce que Le maître de la vie Leurs a fait dire, il est Bon de tué, pendant que L'on Se bat mais après et quand on a fait des prisonniers cela ne vaut plus rien, et non pas Boire ni mangé Le sang et la viande d'hommes, puisque tu est françois aussi bien que nous, demande á nos frères Les françois S'y quand il font La guerre ayant fait des prisonniers s'ils Les tuent quand ils Les ont ammené chez eux, non mais Les gardent pour Les changé pour avoir de leurs gens qui sont prisonniers chez Leurs ennemis, nous voyons

who are prisoners among the enemy. We see well what has obliged thee to do what thou hast done to our brothers, the French: it is because thou hast begun the war ill-advisedly and art now in a rage at not having been able to take the English in the Fort; thou art bound to have our brothers, the French, feel thy bad humor. We desired to come to thy assistance but shall not do so, because thou wouldst say that all the harm which thou and thy followers have caused our brothers, the French, was caused by us. For this reason we do not desire to put ourselves in a bad light with our Great Father."

During the whole council and even afterwards, Pontiac did not say a word even though well aware of his fault, and Kinonchamek, the Eries, and the Delawares, withdrew without receiving any reply from him, and returned to their camp to rest.

About three in the afternoon it was learned that the English at Miami<sup>84</sup> had been defeated and the post plundered. Toward seven in the evening news came that a large party of Indians had ascended the river to Turkey Island opposite the place where the sloop was anchored. When the people on the sloop<sup>85</sup> detected the great movement among the savages on the island they feared that they were about to make an attempt to capture them; to avoid this danger they raised anchor and retired to the open lake where they could wait for a suitable wind to ascend the river without risk.

June 20. Monday.

About ten A. M. the Indians came to fire a few rounds at the Fort from the north side, and after this fusillade the English perceived that the Indians came along the highway insolently and fearlessly. To break them of their boldness a loophole was cut through the palisade on that side to mount a cannon which should sweep the suburbs and put a stop to the movements of the Indians.

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<sup>84</sup>The news of the taking of Miami was known some days earlier by those within the fort and on the 15th of June, Washee, the Pottawattamie chief, exchanged one of the Miami prisoners for an Indian who was held by the English. *Diary of the Siege of Detroit.*

<sup>85</sup>The schooner arrived on June 30th.

Bien ce qui t'oblige à faire ce que tu fais à nos frères Les français, c'est que tu a mal commencé La guerre et que tu est en collère de ne pas pouvoir avoir Les anglois qui sont dans Le fort, tu veu que nos frères Les françois Se Sentent de ta mauvaise humeur, nous avons envie de venir pour vous aider, mais nous ne Le ferons pas par ce que tu dirois que tout Le mal que toi et tes gens ont fait à nos frères Les français que c'est nous qui L'a fait, ainsy nous ne voulons pas nous mettre dans de mauvaise affaire avec nostre grand père.

Pendant tout le Conseil, pondiak ne dit pas un mot ny même après reconnaissant Bien son tord, de sorte que Kinonchamek, Les chats et Les Loups se retirèrent sans avoir deluy aucune reponse et retournèrent aleurs Camp pour se reposé.

Sur Les trois heures après midy L'on appris La deffaitte des anglois aux mi-a-mis et souillage par les Sauvages de ce poste. Sur les sept heures du soir L'on Sçu que une grande partie des Sauvages étaient descendue à Lisle au d'Inde vis-a-vis l'endroit où la Barque était mouillé. Les gens de la barque voyant dans cette isle Beaucoup de mouvement parmis les Sauvages craignirent qu'ils ne voulussent faire quelque tentative pour Les prendre pour éviter Le danger, ils avaient Levé L'ancre et S'étoient retiré en plein Lac, pour attendre Le vent propre pour monter dans la rivière Sans risque.

20e Juin.—Le Lundy.—Sur les dix heures du matin Les Sauvages vinrent faire quelque decharge Sur le fort du Costé du nord es après ces décharges Ses Mrs. S'apperçurent que Les incursionnaires venoient Le Long du grand chemin en pas caré Sans aucune crainte, pour Leurs ôter cette hardiesse L'on fit percé de ce costé là dans Les pieux du fort une embrasure pour y mettre une pièce de canon qui Batoit vers Le Lieu ou était Le fauxbourg et pour arrêté Les Courses des nations, sur Les quatre heures

Around four o'clock in the afternoon the news came that Presqu'Isle<sup>86</sup> and Beef River<sup>87</sup>, posts originally established by the French, but for three years now held by the English, had been captured by the Indians. As the rumor was not confirmed, it remained uncertain.

On the initiative of Father Dujonois a council was held between him and Pontiac concerning the liberty of the English<sup>(1)</sup>.

(1) This was a marginal note in French original.

June 21. Tuesday.

From break of day a great movement was discerned among the natives who did nothing but pass and repass behind the Fort, at the same time whooping as if they had some attack in mind. These operations which seemed a little peculiar led the English to watch them and keep on their guard all day long. Although they tried to discover the cause they did not learn it till the following night when Mr. Baby<sup>88</sup> came at two o'clock in the morning to tell the Commandant that several French settlers, who lived at the lower part of the south coast upon the edge of the river had told him that they had seen the sloop; she seemed well laden and had many people in her, and this same news which the savages had learned first had put them in commotion. At this recital of Mr. Baby, the Commandant, again ordered that two cannon be fired suddenly at daylight in the direction of the southwest to warn the sloop. Reply to the preceding council<sup>(1)</sup>.

(1) This was a marginal note in the French original.

June 22. Wednesday.

The Indians who had received news of the sloop, as I have just told, did not come at all around the Fort to annoy

<sup>86</sup>The news of the capture of Presqu'île was confirmed on June 29th. The fort at that place was a large blockhouse commanded by Ensign Christie. According to his account, on June 29th, about 200 Indians from the neighborhood of Detroit attacked it. After resisting for three days, he surrendered upon a promise that they would be allowed to withdraw to the nearest post. They were immediately taken prisoner and sent to the Huron village near Detroit, where Christie and several other prisoners were handed over to the English on July 9th. *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*. One of Hopkins' Rangers, Shellbarger, was also taken at Presqu'île, and six of the garrison were supposed to have escaped to Le Boeuf. *Gladwin MMS.; Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vol. XIX, pp. 218-19.*

<sup>87</sup>Beef River Fort or Fort le Boeuf was an ill constructed blockhouse on the Le Boeuf River and, being inland, was not ranked or fortified as a first-class

après midy il vint une nouvelle que Lapresqu'isle et La rivière aux Boeufs, anciennement établies par Les françois et depuis trois ans par Mrs. Les anglais avaient été défait par les Sauvages, cette nouvelle ne fut pas confirmé, elle resta incertaine—de part du père dujonois, Conseil entre Lui et pondiak pour La liberté de ses Messieurs.

21e Juin.—Le Mardy 21e Juin.—Dès Le petit matin L'on vit un grand mouvement de la part des nations, qui ne fesoient que passé et repassé par derrière le fort en faisant des cris comme S'ils eussent voullû tanté à quelque chose, ces demarches qui avoient quelque chose de particulier fit que Ses Mrs. en Les examinant Se tinrent toute La journée Sur Leurs gardes, en tachant d'en pénétré La cause, ce que L'on ne Sçue que dans La nuit Suivante par Mr. Baby qui vint Sur Les deux heures après minuit dire à Mr. Le Commandant que plusieurs habitans établis dans Le Bas de la Coste du Sud Sur Le Bord de la rivière Luy avaient dit qu'ils avoient vue Labarque qui paroissait Bien chargé et Beaucoup de monde de dans, et c'est cette même nouvelle que Les Sauvages avaient Sçu des premiers qui Les avoient mis en rumeur, à ce recit de la part de Mr. Baby, Mr. Le Commandant ordonna de nouveau qu'il tire à la pointe du Jour deux coup de canon toute de Suite du Costé du Sorouest pour avertir La Barque. Reponse du Conseil précédent.

22e Juin.—Le mercredi 22e Juin.—Les Sauvages qui comme Je viens de le dire avaient eûs des nouvelles de la Barque ne vinrent point au tour du fort pour L'inquieter.

station. At the time of the Indian uprisings it was occupied by Ensign George Price, two corporals and eleven privates. On June 18th they were attacked but managed to hold out for nearly an hour, and then, finding cover in the dark, they escaped in the direction of Venango. Upon reaching Venango they found it in ruins and at last found their way to Fort Pitt. Only two men were lost. *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, 805, Vol. II.

<sup>88</sup>Jacques Duperon Baby, a trader and farmer, lived on the north shore of the river, east of the fort. He was a staunch supporter of the French King and when the English took Canada made preparations to go to France. What changed his plans is not known, but he returned to Detroit, and when Pontiac's war broke out was very friendly toward the English. He secretly furnished provisions to the fort and when Pontiac threatened to force the neutral French into his service, he begged permission to come into the fort. This was granted and he lost everything he could not carry in with him. He married Susanne Reaume, daughter of Pierre Reaume, and was the father of twenty-two children. His oldest son, Jacques, was born Aug. 25, 1763, during the Indian war.

it. This favorable time was made use of to occupy the garrison with throwing down and burning the rest of the fences around the gardens, cutting down the fruit trees, and removing from around the Fort whatever could offer any shelter whatever to an Indian. In the course of the day the news of the taking of Presqu'Isle was confirmed, because the savages who had undertaken this expedition were seen returning in large numbers, bringing back with them by land the prisoners which they had taken; among these were the commandant<sup>89</sup> of the place and a woman, both of whom were presented to the Hurons.

About three o'clock the Commandant received information concerning the cargo of the sloop and the number of people aboard; at four o'clock the Commissary and the Judge visited the French households to seize provisions for the fourth time. Kinonchamek departed for Michillimacinae<sup>(1)</sup>.

(1) Marginal note in French original.

June 23. Thursday.

The Indians did not come to fire on the Fort during the day, as they were occupied with a project for the capture of the sloop which they knew to be at the entrance to the lake. Early in the morning they passed in large numbers in the rear of the Fort to go to join those who had left two days before; they all collected on Turkey Island which is a sort of narrow strait because at this point the river is very narrow. The Indians had constructed on the island an intrenchment with tree trunks which they had felled and piled upon the shore of the river on the side where the sloop had to pass. They also heaped up earth and strengthened it with branches in such a way that if they were seen in their fortifications they had nothing to fear from balls. In this retreat they waited the coming of the sloop.

About six o'clock in the evening the wind seemed to have become favorable for ascending the river; those in the vessel lifted anchor to take advantage of it. When they were

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<sup>89</sup>Ensign John Christie. See note 86.

L'on profita du bon tems pour occuper La garnison à renverser et Brûler les restes de clôture des jardins et à couper Les arbres à fruit et à ôter d'autour du fort ce qui pouvait caché Seulement un Sauvage, dans le cours de la journée La prise de la presqu'isle se confirma par ce L'on vit revenir Les Sauvages qui avaient fait cette Expédition qui étaient en grand nombre qui ammenoiient avec eux par terre Les prisonniers qu'ils y avaient fait dont Le Commandant de cette place étoient du nombre avec une femme qui fut donné tous deux en présent aux hurons.

Sur Les trois heures Mr. Le Commandant eu nouvelle de la charge de la barque et de la quantité de monde qu'il y avoit de dans, sur les quatre heures Mr. Le Commissaire et Mr. Le Juge firent La visite chez Les bourgeois pour les vivres pour La quatrième fois—depart de Kinonchamek pour Michilimakinack.

23e Juin.—Jeudi 23e Juin.—Les Sauvages ne vinrent point tiré Sur Le fort de la journée par ce qu'ils étaient occupé du projet qu'ils avaient fait de prendre La barque qu'ils Sçavaient estre à L'entré du Lac, ils passèrent dès le petit matin par derrière Lefort en grand nombre pour aller rejoindre ceux qui étoient deux jours auparavant partis et furent tous ensemble dans l'isle au dinde qui est un espèce de petit Détroit parce que La rivière est fort étroite à cette endroit, Les Sauvages dans cette isle firent un retranchement avec des corps d'arbres qu'ils Buchèrent et qu'ils couchèrent Sur le bord de la rivière du costé que La Barque devait passé, ils mirent aussi de la terre raporté avec des branches de sorte que S'ils eussent été vue dans Leurs retranchements, ils ne craignaient pas. Le Boulet et dans cette retraite ils attendirent La barque au passage. Sur Les Six heures du soir Le vent paru devenir favorable pour monté La rivière ceux qui étaient dans La barque Levèrent L'ancre pour profiter du vent, quand elle fut au droit de cette isle, Le vent faibli et ils furent contrain de

opposite the island the wind fell and they had to anchor in ignorance of the ambuscade which had been laid for them on the island. The Indians waited till night for their attack, but those on board, anticipating well that they would not reach the Fort unmolested, were on their guard with lookouts fore and aft, determined to sell their lives dearly.

In their intrenchment the Indians, from the moment the vessel had anchored across from them, had not ceased to study the number of men in her, and seeing only twelve or fifteen persons they believed that they could attack without any risk. Nevertheless, there were sixty or seventy men aboard. During the day the captain had hidden sixty men in the hold, for he suspected that the Indians who were constantly prowling about would venture an attack if they saw only a dozen men. And this was the case. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening the Indians put out in their canoes to surround the sloop and board her. A sentinel on the forecastle saw them coming in the distance; for fear of being heard they were paddling very slowly. The commander of the sloop was warned, and he had all his men come quickly and quietly on deck and take places along the gunwale with weapons in their hands; in silence, all ready, with cannons loaded, they were ordered to wait for the signal which was a hammer-blow on the poop. Thus prepared, they allowed the enemy to come within gunshot.

The Indians were overjoyed at the silence which reigned on the vessel and thought that there were actually only twelve men on board, but a moment later they were greatly undeceived; for when they were within gunshot the signal was given and there was a general discharge of cannon and guns which swept through the savages who returned to their intrenchment quicker than they had come, with a loss of fourteen men killed and as many wounded. They did not any longer have a desire to approach near the sloop, but they fired at her all night from their breastwork and wounded two men. The next day for lack of wind the



mouillé, Sans Sçavoir L'embuscade qui luy était dressé dans cette isle, Les Sauvages attendèrent jusque à la nuit pour L'attaquer, mais ceux qui étaient de dans qui étaient Bien prevenus qu'ils ne Se rendroient pas devant Lefort, Sans estre attaqué Se tinrent Sur Leurs gardes fesant Bon quart, resoud de vendre Leurs vies, Bien cher. Les Sauvages dans leurs retranchement que depuis L'instant que La Barque avait mouillé vis a vis d'eux n'avoient cessé d'examiner Le monde qu'il y avait de dans et n'apercevant que douze à quinze hommes, crurent qu'ils pouvoient L'attaquer Sans risque, cependant il y avait de dans soixante et douze hommes, celui qui La commandait avait caché pendant Le jour soixante hommes dans La cal, parcequ'il se méfiais bien que Les Sauvages qui rodaient toujours, par Là ne voyant que douze personnes, tenteroient de Les prendre, ce qui fut aussi, sur les huit à neuf heures du Soir, Les Sauvages embarquèrent dans Leurs canots pour se rendre autour de la barque pour La prendre d'assaut, un sentinel en faction Sur le gaillard dedevant Les apperçue venir de loing, qui à peine, peur que L'on entendis, ne nageais que faiblement, avertis Le Com'd. de la barque, qui fit vite Sans bruit monté tous le monde Sur Le pont et Les plassa autour Le long des plats Bord Les armes à le main, Les canons chargé tous prest en Silence, avec Ordre d'attendre Le Signal qui était un coup de marteau, Sur La dunet, En cette état L'on Laissa aproché à la porté d'un fusil, Les Sauvages Se réjouissaient du silence qui régnait dans La Barque croyant qu'effectivement il n'y avait que douze hommes dedans, mais un instant après ils furent Bien trompé car Lorsque ils furent à la porté du fusil Le signal se donna toute la décharge de canon et de fusil il se fit un Bon ordre qui fit Broussé chemin au sauvages qui retournèrent dans Leurs retranchement plus vite qu'ils n'en étoient parties et avec perte de quatorze homme tué et autant de blessé ils n'eurent plus d'envie d'approché de la barque de sy près mais ils LaFusillèrent toute la nuit de leurs retranchement et Blessèrent dedans

vessel dropped down into the lake to await a favorable wind with which to come up.

June 24. Friday.

The Fort was quite unmolested the whole day. The Indians who were all the while occupied with the scheme of taking the sloop had forgotten the Fort for some time. There were only prowlers around the Fort, two of whom came in their defiance so near that they were seen. Twenty men with an officer at their head sallied out to capture them, but the two savages discovered them and seeing that the twenty men were after them they dropped their plan very quickly and took to their heels; the English came back as they went out—with nothing.

June 25. Saturday.

The weather remained unsettled all day and there was no hostility on either side.

June 26. Sunday<sup>90</sup>.

Several soldiers, who had passed the night on the bastions as usual, brought word to the Commandant that they had seen two Indians enter a house in the vicinity,—five hundred yards northeast of the Fort. At four in the morning, by orders from the Commandant, Mr. Hopkins made a sortie at the head of twenty-four men picked from his company to surround the house and take them prisoners. When they reached the place the two savages were not there,—only the caretaker. They searched the house everywhere in the belief that the two Indians were hidden, but they found only two sows with their litters which they took and brought into the Fort instead of the Indians. In some measure this capture was worth more than the prize they wished to make.

The same day about ten in the morning two Indians who had seen from a distance how a couple of soldiers had fastened out the horses of two officers, their masters, came

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<sup>90</sup>On this day (June 26th), Pontiac went to mass at Father Potier's mission and afterwards made a canvass of the inhabitants for provisions. In return for the goods he gave bills of credit signed with his mark, the figure of a "coon" or "otter." The goods were all carried to the house of Meloche and Quillieriez (Cuillierier dit Beaubien) acted as Commissary.

deux hommes, et Le Lendemain faute de vent, elle relacha dans Le Lac pour attendre le vent propre pour monter.

24e Juin.—Le vendredy 24 Juin.—Le fort fut assez tranquille toute La journée Les Sauvages toujours occupé du dessein de prendre La Barque avoient oublié Le fort pendant quelque temps, il n'y avait à l'entour du fort que les rodeurs, dont deux pour nargué vinrent assez proche pour estre vue, il sortient vingt hommes avec un officier à leur teste, pour les prendre, mais les deux Sauvages Les ayant découvert et voyant que Ses vingt hommes en voullaient à eux, ils Lachèrent leurs proies bien vite et gagnèrent aux pieds, et ses messieurs rentrèrent comme ils étaient parties — — — avec rien.

25e Juin.—Le Samedy 25e Juin.—Toute la journée Le temps fut inconstant, il n'y eût aucune hostilité de part ny d'autre.

26e Juin.—Le dimanche 26 Juin.—Plusieurs soldats qui avaient passés La nuit Sur Les Bastillons suivant L'ordinaire rapportèrent à Mr. Le Commandant que ils avaient vûe entré deux Sauvages dans une maison voisine du fort et éloigné de distance de huit arpens du costé du nord est du fort, il sortie à quatre heures du matin par ordre de Mr. Le Commandant, Mr. hobquince, capitaine à la teste de vingt quatre hommes choisies de Sa Compagnie pour investir cette maison et pour les prendre prisonnier. Les deux Sauvages quand ils furent rendu n'y étaient pas, ils ils ny trouvèrent que Le gardien, ils cherchèrent partout dans La maison, croyant que Les deux Sauvages étoient cachés, ils ne trouvèrent que deux truies pleine qu'ils prirent et apportèrent dans le fort, au lieu des Sauvages, Cette capture valloit en quelque façon mieux que la prise qu'ils esperoient faire. Ce mesme jour Sur les dix heures du matin, deux soldats qui avaient attaché Les chevaux de leurs maître à un arpent du fort, quand deux Sauvages qui Les avaient vu faire de Loing, vinrent en pas de guerriers dans les herbes qui étaient fort grandes, coupèrent

sneaking up through the tall grass, cut the ropes and drove the animals away.

June 27. Monday.

The Indians, according to their custom, prowled around the Fort all day without doing any firing. Since Mr. Campbell and Mr. MacDougal had been prisoners in Pontiac's camp, Mr. Gammelin had visited them every two days and sometimes every day; today at three o'clock P. M. he brought a letter to the Commandant which Pontiac had dictated and caused Mr. Campbell to write; in it Pontiac notified the Commandant that he and his whole force must evacuate the Fort at once, because he expected within ten days Kinonchamek and the great chief of the Chippewas with eight hundred warriors of his nation whom he would not be able to control, and as soon as they arrived they would capture the Fort. To this the Commandant replied that he was ready for them, and him, too, and defied them. This reply did not please Pontiac nor his savages, but the English cared very little about that.

Toward eight o'clock in the evening it was learned indirectly that the sloop had hoisted anchor preparatory to coming up the river.

June 28. Tuesday.

A part of the Indians who had gone down the river to capture the sloop came back to camp after having failed fortunately; as they passed the Fort they saluted it with a volley without harming anybody. About two P. M. the Hurons re-entered their village. The news that the sloop had lifted anchor turned out to be true; when the wind had veered into the southwest the vessel took advantage of it and sailed out of the evil spot and came up as far as the River Rouge, two and a half miles distant from the Fort, where she anchored, when the wind failed, a little below in plain sight of the Fort. At seven o'clock in the evening two cannon shots were fired as a signal to her, but there was no reply; this aroused forebodings, for people thought the Indians had captured her by a second attack.

Les Cordes et emmenèrent Les chevaux qui appartenoient au deux officiers.

27e Juin.—Le Lundy 27e Juin.—Les Sauvages Suivant Leurs Coutumes rodèrent autour du fort, sans tiré de toute La journée. Mr. Gammelin qui depuis que Mr. Cambel et Mr. Magdougat étaient prisonniers au camp de pondiak avait été Les voir tous les deux jours et souvent tous les jours. Cette journée à trois heures après midy apporta à Mr. Le Commandant une lettre que Pondiak avait dicté et fait écrire par Mr. Cambel, dans laquel pondiak marquais à Mr. Le Commandant qu'il eus Luy et tout son monde à Evoquer incessamment le fort parce que soi disant il attendait sous dix jours Kinonchamek avec grand chef de sauteurs avec huit cents hommes de sa nation et desquels il ne serait pas Le maître, et que à leurs arrivé ils devoient prendre Le fort dessus. Mr. Le Commandant fit réponse qui Les attendaient et Lui aussi de pied ferme et qu'il se moquois d'eux. Cette réponse ne fit pas plaisir à pondiak n'y aux Sauvages mais ces Mrs. S'en embarassaient fort peu. Sur Les huit heures du Soir L'on Sçue indirectement que Labarque avait Levé L'ancre pour monter La rivière.

28e Juin.—Mardy 28e Juin.—Une partie des Sauvages qui avaient descendüe pour s'emparé de la Barque, ayant heureusement manqué Leurs coups revinrent au Camp et en passant saluèrent Le fort de quelques coups de fusil sans faire aucun mal à personne. Les hurons rentrèrent à leurs villages Sur les deux heures après midy L'on eût nouvelle que La Barque avait Levé l'ancre ce qui se trouva vrain. Le vent s'étant mis au Sorouais, elle profita de ce moment pour se retiré du mauvais pas et elle vint à l'endroit de la rivière rouge à une Lieu du fort ou Levent ayant manqué elle mouilla audessous un peu et fut vue du fort. Sur les Sept heures du soir L'on Luy tira deux coups de Canon à quoy elle ne repondit point, ce qui donna à penser, croyant que les Sauvages l'eusse prises par une Seconde tentative, ce qui fut dit tout hautement dans le

This was the view expressed quite loudly by the judge, but it did not prevent the English officers from celebrating with the band in the bastion which faced the side where she was anchored.

June 29. Wednesday; St. Peter's Day.

The Indians did not fire upon the Fort at all during the day; a part of them rested, while others collected to make a descent upon the French settlers to recoup themselves for their wasted labors. About three P. M. some twenty war-cries were heard behind the Fort; they came from the savages who were returning from the capture of Fort Presqu'Isle.

The sloop remained at anchor all day where she had stopped the day before for lack of wind.

June 30. Thursday.

The Indians were quiet all day expecting reinforcements.

Around three o'clock in the morning three war-whoops and some yells of joy were heard coming from the Indians, but no one could discover what it meant.

When the southeast wind came up those on the sloop lifted anchor to take advantage of it. As they passed the Huron village they saw the savages standing with folded arms, wrapped in their blankets, at the doors of their cabins; the sloop fired a broadside of grape-shot and ball which wounded some and made all hurry into their cabins. Some of the Indians seized their guns and followed the sloop, firing upon her till she came to anchor safely in front of the Fort at four P. M. On board were the thirty-five men and the officer who had made their escape toward Sandusky, as I have mentioned before<sup>91</sup>. This officer came ashore to bring some letters to the Commandant in which mention was made that peace had been declared and Canada remained in the possession of the English and his Britannic Majesty paid all expenses which had been in-

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<sup>91</sup>This schooner brought to the relief of the fort twenty-two men of the 30th Regiment, and Lieut. Cuyler and twenty-eight men of Capt. Hopkins' Company of Rangers, 150 barrels of provisions and some ammunition. One sergeant and four men were wounded in coming up the river.

[illegible]





fort par Mr. Le Juge, cela n'empêcha pas Ses Mrs. de faire un nouvel instrument dans le Bastion qui fésait face à L'endroit où elle était mouillé.

29e Juin.—Mercredy 29e Juin.—Jour de La feste de St. pierre, Les Sauvages ne tirèrent point de la journée sur le fort, une partie se reposèrent et d'autres furent Ensemble une descende Sur Les habitants pour Se payer de leurs peines inutiles. Sur les trois heures après midy L'on entendit derrière Le fort, une vingtaine de cris de mort, c'était des Sauvages qui revenaient de la prise du fort de la presqueisle. Tous ce jour, la Barque resta mouillé où elle avait arrêté le jour précédent, faute de vent.

30e Juin.—Jeudi 30e Juin.—Les Sauvages furent tranquilles toute La journée parce que durant, ils attendoient du renfort Sur Les Six heures du matin, il fut entendûe du fort trois cris de mort et des cris de joye venant de la part des sauvages Sans que L'on put Sçavoir ce que pouvait Estre, Le vent Sorouest s'éleva, ceux qui étaient dans La Barque Levèrent L'ancre pour en profiter, en passant devant Le village des hurons, ils virent Les Sauvages qui étaient Les bras croisés envelopé dans leur couverte à la porte de leur cabane, La barque leurs envoya une bordée de coup de canon à raisin et à boulet qui en blessa quelqu'un et Les fit tous rentré dans Leurs Cabane ou une partie prirent Leurs fusils et conduisirent La barque tirant dessus Jusque devant Le fort où elle mouilla heureusement à quatre heures après midy, il y avait dedans Les trente cinq hommes avec L'officier qui S'étoient Sauvé vers Sandosqué comme Je l'ay dit cy dessus, cette officier de barque pour apporter des lettres a Mr. Le Commandant dans Lesquelles il était fait mention que la paix été faite et que Le Canada Leurs restaient et sa Majesté Britannique payois

curred in Canada since the commencement of the war.

July 1. Friday.

The Indians who prowled constantly around the outskirts of the Fort and the homes of the settlers frightened the domestic animals in the region; one herd of three oxen, three cows, and two calves, came into the Fort; they belonged to Mr. Cuillerier<sup>92</sup>.

Mr. St. Martin, interpreter for the Hurons since the beginning of the siege, had abandoned his house which is about a quarter of a mile southwest of the Fort, because the Indians took refuge behind it from which to shoot. This led the English to fire upon it, and since he was no safer in the house from the Indians than from the English he retired to the missionary, Father Potier's, to remain till the end of this affair. The day before he had an interview with a Huron who was loyal to him and told him that the Indians wanted to make the French take up arms against the English; he was not in a mood to consent to this, and asked of the Commandant a refuge in the Fort for himself and family which was granted. He came with his mother-in-law, his wife, and all his dependents. He lived one day with Mr. La Butte and afterwards at the house of Mr. Bellestre.

July 2. Saturday.

Mr. MacDougal<sup>93</sup>, who accompanied Mr. Campbell when they left the Fort to visit the Indian camp and had been kept a prisoner, escaped along with three other Englishmen, also prisoners at the camp; they reached the Fort at three o'clock in the morning. When they fled from the camp they did all they could to bring Mr. Campbell with them, but to no avail; he would have liked to follow them, but he was shortsighted and feared that in running from one danger he would rush headlong into another which might end

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<sup>92</sup>This was Anthony Cuillerier dit Beaubien, who was born in 1697 and came to Detroit in 1729. He lived on the north side of the river east of the fort, was a trader and captain of a company of habitants and interpreter of Indian languages. His brother, Jean Baptiste, also lived on the north side of the river and was a captain of militia and a trader. It was Anthony's daughter Angelique who is supposed to have disclosed Pontiac's plans to Sterling, and his son Alexis was probably one of the young men who fought with the Indians. Pontiac

tous les frais qui S'était fait en Canada depuis Le Commencement de la guerre.

1er Juillet.—Le vendredy 1er Juillet.—Les Sauvages qui rodoient toujours à l'entours du fort et chez les habitans ayant epouvanté des animaux dans Les coste, il y en eut une bande qui vinrent dans Le fort. La bande étoient trois boeuf, trois vache et deux veaux. Les animaux appartenoient à Mr. Cuillierier. Mr. St. Martin, interprète des hurons qui depuis le Commencement du siege avait abandonné Sa maison qui est bâtie à six arpens du fort, au Sorouais, à cause que les Sauvages qui se cachaient derrière pour faire tirade, ce qui occasionnais ces Mrs. a tiré dessus et ne se voyait pas en sûreté dans la maison pas plus de la part des Sauvages que de la part des anglois, S'étoient retiré chez le missionnaire, père poitier pour Jusque à La finition de cette entreprise; mais ayant eu le jour précédent un entretien avec un huron qui luy était afidé qui lui dit, que Les Sauvages voullaient faire prendre Les armes aux français contre les anglais, et n'étant pas d'humeur à consentir à cela, demanda pour lui et sa famille à Mr. Le Commandant une ritirance dans le fort ce qui Luy fut accordé, et de venir, il y vint avec Sa Mère, Sa belle Mère, Sa femme et tout son monde. Il demeura chez Mr. La Butte une journée et après chez Mr. Bellestre.

2e Juillet.—Le Samedi 2e Juillet.—Mr. Magdougai qui avait accompagné Mr. Cambel quand ils sont sortis du fort pour aller chez Les Sauvages, et qui était resté prisonnier se sauva avec trois autres anglais qui étaient aussi prisonniers du camp et entrèrent dans le fort à trois heures du matin, en se sauvant du camp, ils firent tous se qu'ils pûrent pour emmener avec eux Mr. Cambel, mais leur prière fut inutile, ce Mr. aurait bien voulu Les suivrent, mais ce Monsieur avait la vue fort courte et qu'il craignait en Se

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showed great respect for Anthony and treated him as commandant of Detroit during the siege. *Gladwin MMS.*; *Denissen Genealogies, MMS.*

<sup>50</sup>McDougall escaped with a Schenectady trader, Van Eps. Another trader, who had been taken with Crawford on the Huron River, escaped and reached the schooner.

his days before the time. He did not want to run any chances of dying till he had to.

At five in the morning an officer made a sortie with twenty men to destroy the fences of Mr. St. Martin's garden and cut down the grain in which the savages hid. When the latter saw that their hiding places were being cut down and destroyed, they started with determination in pursuit of the English who went back to the Fort quicker than they had left it. \* \* \* \* \* The Indians kept up a fire upon the Fort without injuring anybody. In the meantime the English have been content to keep close watch every day, and have placed soldiers on guard in two temporary bastions which are outside on a slope of the hill behind the Fort; during these days there are always four sentries in each bastion day and night.

The garrison and the new arrivals from the sloop were busy unloading her a part of the day, and fetching the cargo into the warehouse.

Toward seven o'clock in the evening news came that the Indians had been to the homes of all the French settlers in every section, and had brought to their camps all old men and heads of families to take part in a council<sup>94</sup> which they desired to hold, and in which they wished to oblige the French to take up arms against the English. In the course of the night it was learned that the Indians after the council I am going to speak about had sent back all the fathers of families and the old men to their homes without doing them any harm.

Pontiac who was in despair over the arrival of the sloop resolved to cause the French settlers by force or friendship to take up hostilities, seeing that in spite of the designs of himself and his followers help of men and provisions reached these English. In order to succeed in his project

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<sup>94</sup>Robert Navarre, Zacharie Cicotte, Louis Campau, Antoine Cuillier and Francois Meloche were among those who attended this council. At this council, Cicotte informed Pontiac that they would not help him on account of their families, but that there were about 300 young men at Detroit who had no families and they would join him. They formed a plan to attack the fort on or about July 5th, the Indians from without and the French residing in the fort from within. *Gladwin MSS.*, p. 656.

Sauvant d'un danger d'aller se jeter dans un autre qui aurait peut être terminé Ses jours d'existence avant le temps, il ne voullu point S'exposé à mourir plustôt qu'il n'était necessaire.

A cinq heures du matin un officier sortie avec vingt Soldat pour détruire les clostures du parc à Mr. St. Martin et couper Les bled dans Lesquels Les Sauvages se cachoient Lesquels s'apercevant que L'on coupoient et détruisoient Leurs caches vinrent en déterminé donné La poursuite à Mrs. Les Anglais qui rentrèrent dans le fort plus vite qu'ils n'en étoient sortient. \* \* \* \* \*

Les Sauvages tirèrent Sur Lefort Sans faire mal à personne et cependant ces Mrs. se sont Contentés de faire bon quart tout Le jours et ont placé des soldats en faction dans deux cavaliers qui étoient dehors du fort dans une pente du costeau derrière Le fort et depuis ce jours il y a toujours eu dans les deux cavaliers quatre factionnaire jour et nuit. La garnison avec les nouveaux arrivant dans la barque furent occupé à la dechargé une partie de la journée et amener sa charge dans Le magazin.

Sur Les sept heures du soir, il vint une nouvelle que Les Sauvages avoient été chez tous les habitans dans toutes Les Costes et avoient emmené à Leurs Camps tous les vieillards et Le chefs de famille pour estre présent à un conseil qu'ils devoient tenir et dans ce conseil il voullait obligé Les français à prendre Les armes contre Mrs. Les Anglais.

L'on Sçue dans la nuit que Les Sauvages après Le Conseil dont Je vais parlé avoient renvoyé tous Les pères de famille et Les vieillards chez eux Sans leur avoir fait aucun tord.

Pondiak au desespoir de l'heureuse arrivée de la barque voyant que malgré ces desseins à lui et de ses gens Les secours de vivres et de monde venoient à Ces Mrs. il résolu de faire prendre les armes aux habitans de force ou d'amitié, Et pour réussir à ses projets il fut convié tous Les chefs de famille et Les vieillards de venir en conseil

he had all the heads of families and the old men summoned to a council in his camp, under the pretext that it was about a matter they were concerned in. When all had come, following his usual custom he began to speak, addressing himself to the French and at the same time handing them war-belts. This is what he said:

"My brothers, I am beginning to grow tired of seeing our lands encumbered by this carrion flesh (the English), and I hope you feel the same. I believe you are about ready to conspire with us to destroy them; still, it has seemed to me that you have been abetting them to our hurt. I have already told you, and I say it again, that when I began this war it was for your interests as well as ours. I knew what I was about.

"I know Fort Erie has fallen. I say I know it, and this year all the English in Canada, no matter how large their force, must perish. It is the Master of Life who commands it; He has made known his will unto us,—we have responded, and must carry out what He has said, and you French, you who know Him better than we,—will you all go against His will? (Up to now) I have not wished to speak, hoping that you would let us take our course; I have not wished to urge you to take up arms with us against them, for I did not think you would side against us. I know very well you are going to say that you do not side with them, but you are siding with them when you report to them all that we do and say. For this reason there is only one way open today: either remain French as we are, or altogether English as they are. If you are French, accept this war-belt for yourselves, or your young men, and join us; if you are English we declare war upon you, which will show our valor all the more because we know you to be children of our Great Father (the king of France) as well as we; to make war upon our brothers for the sake of such dogs pains us, and it will cost us an effort to attack you inasmuch as we are all French together; and if we should attack we should no longer be French. But since

à son camp soit disant pour affaire qui Les regardaient, où étant tous réuni il prit La parole suivant son ordinaire parlant à tous les français en leur donnant Collier de guerre, au milieu du Conseil et Leurs dit, Mes frères Je viens Bien à me Lassé de voir cette mauvaise viande sur nos terres et j'espère qu'il en est de mesme de vous, je crois que vous n'en Etes pas bien loing de conspirer avec nous à leurs pertes. Il me semble cependant que vous les soulagé à notre préjudice Je vous ai déjà dit et je vous le repete encore que quand Jay commencé cette guerre que ça été pour vos interest autant que pour Les nôtres et que Je Sçavais ce que je faisais, Je sais que le Fort Erié a été pris disje je le Sçay et cette année il faut qu'ils périssent tous dans le Canada, quelque force qu'ils aient, c'est le maître de La vie qui le dit Il nous a fait connaitre Sa volonté, nous sont connue et il faut faire ce qu'il dit, Et vous autres, francais, vous le Connaissez mieux que nous, vous voulez allé contre ces volontés \* \* \* \* Je nay pas voulu parlé espérant que vous nous Laissiez faire, Je n'ai pas voullu vous inquieter pour Les Battre avec nous parce que je ne pensais pas que vous vous mettriez de leurs cotés contre nous. Vous n'allez-vous dire que vous n'estre pas avec eux, Je le Sçay Bien, mais c'est toujours y estre parce que vous leurs rapportés tous ce que nous faisons et tous ce que nous disons, ce qui fait qu'aujourd'hui, il n'y a plus d'autres parties apprendre il faut estre français comme nous ou tout anglais comme eux: Si vous êtes français accepté ce collier, pour vous, ou pour vos Jeunes gens pour Se joindre à nous, Sy vous estes anglais, nous vous déclarons La guere, ce qui nous est encore de valeur parce que nous vous connaissons pour des enfants de nostre grand père aussi bien que nous et de faire La guerre à nos frères par des chiens, ça nous fais de la peine et nous aurions peine à consentir à fraper Sur vous étant tous français et S'y nous y consentions nous ne Serions plus français et comme nous Le tous. C'est tout ensemble

we are French it is wholly the interests of our Father, yours and ours, that we defend. Therefore answer, my brothers, that we may come to an understanding; and behold this belt which makes its appeal to you or your young men."

One of the principal Frenchmen<sup>95</sup> who had almost suspected the design of Pontiac and had brought with him to the council a copy of the Capitulation of Montreal and Detroit arose and responding for all the French said, holding the document in his hand:

"My brothers, your wishes are sufficiently known to us. When you began this war upon the English we foresaw well that you would force us to take up arms against them. We do not hesitate an instant to follow you and with you defend the interests of our Father, but first you must remove, if you can, the bonds which tie our hands and which the Father of the French and the Father of the English have knotted about us as the only hindrance to our accepting this war-belt. Do you think, my brothers, that it is very easy or agreeable for us to see you take up our interests without assisting you? Believe us, we are grieved over it, and you forget what we said on this subject in the last council which we all held together. But the king of France when he gave these lands here to the king of England commanded us not to fight against the English, but to regard them as our brothers and the English father and king as our father and king. You believe, possibly, that we say this out of lack of desire. No! Our Father has made known his will to us by sending us this document and he orders us to remain quiet in our houses, for he alone wishes to deliver us. Without considering this you say that if we do not accept your war-belt you will make war upon us. \* \* \* Our Father has not forbidden us to fight when our brothers, the English, attack; although you

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<sup>95</sup>Rumors of peace had reached the Indians some time before, but they persisted in believing it only a lie spread by the English to deceive them. Mr. Navarre is recorded in the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit, July 4th*, as having published the Articles of Peace to the French and Indians. It is quite probable that this refers to the present occasion on July 2nd. *Gladwin MMS.*, p. 656.



Les interets de nostre père, Le votre et le nôtre que nous défendons, ainsy repondez nous mes frères que nous vous entendions et regardez ce collier qui s'adresse à vous ou à vos jeunes gens, ——— un des principaux des français qui S'était presque mesié du dessein de pondiak et qui avait porté avec Luy au conseil La copie de la Capitulation du Montreal et du Détroit Se leva et prenant la parole pour tous Les français, La copie à la main s'adressant aux Sauvages: Leur dit, mes frères, vos volontés nous sont assez connus, quand vous avez commencé à fraper Sur Mr. Les anglais, nous avons Bien prévu que vous nous forceriez à prendre Les armes contre eux, nous ne balancons pas d'un instant à vous suivre et avec vous de prendre les interest de notre père, mais il faut auparavant que vous nous ôtiez si vous pouvez ces attache qui nous Lie Les Bras à tous et que le père des français et Le père des anglais ont nouez Sur nous et qui nous empêche eux seulement de prendre le collier, croyez-vous Mes frères qu'il n'est pas Bien facile et agréable de vous voir prendre nos intérêt Sans pouvoir vous aider, croyez nous, nous en sommes peiné, vous ne vous Souvenez plus de ce que nous avons dit à ce Sujet dans Le dernier Conseil que nous avons tenûs tous ensemble, Le Roy de France en donnant ces terres icy à roy d'angleterre et il nous a deffendue de nous battre contre les anglais et de regarder les anglais comme nos frères et Le père et le roy des anglais comme nostre pere et notre Roy. Vous croyez peut estre que c'est par mauvaise volonté que vous nous disons cela, non, nostre père à tous nous a fait connaître sa volonté, en nous envoyant son écrit que voila et il nous ordonne de rester tranquille sur nos nattes jusqu'à ce qu'il vienne parce qu'il veut seulement Luy qui nous delie et vous autres Sans Considéré cela vous dites que Si nous ne prenons pas votre Colier vous nous ferez La guerre

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notre père nous a pas defendue de nous battre, quand nos frères Les anglais font La guerre

have called us English it will not be of our own desire if we shall fight against you. But Frenchmen, as we are now and have always been, we are surprised, my brothers; you forget that when our Father (the French commander) left here you promised him you would defend us, our wives and our children, and it is not so. What harm have we done you as far as the English are concerned? And then did you not promise our Father that you would wait for him to come back? And you have not done so, because you are fighting instead of waiting for him. \* \* \* \* and when he comes he will deliver us, and we shall join ourselves to him and all do his will. It is now your turn to speak, my brothers!"

Pontiac was spurred on by a band of irresponsible and vagabond Frenchmen<sup>96</sup> who had neither chick nor child in the region, and had thrown off the mask inasmuch as they did not have much to lose; he replied that it was necessary to do as he did, and if it was not the old men, then it must be the young men. When the French saw themselves driven into a corner by the obstinacy of Pontiac they asked him for delay until the following day when all would return bringing their reply.

One of the leaders of the renegade French, who thought that by putting himself and his whole gang on the side of the savages they would be safe in their foolishness, arose in his place, at the same time picking up the belt, and turning to the Indians said:—

"I and my young men break away from our bonds; all accept the war belt which you offer us and are ready to follow you. We shall go and find other young men to join us,—there are enough of them—and we shall make them

\* \* \* \* that you may see how soon we shall capture the Fort and all that is in it."

All the old settlers who had been called to the council trembled when they saw such a base proposal made by people without heart or honor; they asked to be allowed to

<sup>96</sup>See note 94.

quoy que vous nous appeliez anglais, ce ne sera pas pour nous que nous batterons contre vous, mais des français tels que nous sommes et que nous avons toujours été nous Sommes surpris, mes frères, vous avez oublié que quand notre père est partis d'icy que vous Luy avez promis de nous défendre et de nous protéger nous, nos femmes et nos enfans, au lieu de nous estre ainsi, quel mal es ce que nous vous avons fait, esce par rapport à L'anglais; puis n'avez-vous pas promis à nostre père que vous L'attenderiez et vous ne l'avez pas fait puisque vous vous battu pour Luy attendé qu'il vienne \* \* \* \* et Lorsqu'il sera venus il nous deliera et nous nous joindrons à Luy et nous ferous tous ensemble ces volontés; répondez nous à votre tour mes frères.

Pondiak; qui était soufflé par une bande de français volontaire, Et gabans, qui n'ayant dans l'endroit ny feu ni Lieu avaient Levé Le masque et se mettait guère en peine de se perdre; répondit qu'il falais faire Comme Luy et que S'y ce n'étoient pas Les vieillards il falais que ce fut Les jeunes gens. Les français Se voyant poussé à bout par L'obstination de pondiak Luy demandèrent du delai jusqu'au Lendemain qui tous viendrais Luy rendre reponce; un des chefs gabands qui croyais que Se mettant. Luy et toute Sa cabale du costé des sauvages ils seroient à couvert de toute Sotise Se Leva de sa place en ramassant Le Collier, puis S'adressant aux Sauvages dit: Mes frères moy et mes jeunes gens nous rompons nos Liens et nous acceptons tous Le colier que vous nous donné et nous sommes prest à vous suivre et nous irons cherché d'autres jeunes gens pour se joindre à nous, nous en trouverons Bien et nous les ferons bien \* \* \* que vous venez, que nous aurons bien tost Le fort et tout ce qui a dedans.

Voyant une proposition Si basse, faite par des gens Sans Coeur et sans honneur fit frémir tous les anciens qui avaient été appelé au conseil. Les quels ayant demandé Jusqu'au Lendemain à rendre réponce demandèrent à

make their reply on the next day, and very much grieved to see a band of scoundrels espouse Pontiac's cause they asked permission to withdraw.

Pontiac dismissed the old men, shaking hands with them all, and each went home filled with anger at having been a witness of an action so despicable which sooner or later would involve all the French. The vagabonds who had accepted the belt remained at the camp, for they well knew that after such a deed they would not find anyone who would receive them into his home. The council was not concluded till eight o'clock which made it too late to find out what warlike qualities these new-made savages possessed.

July 3. Sunday.

The Indians spent the whole day in festivities, regaling their new warriors. The Commandant who learned in the morning what had taken place the night before in the camp ordered the judge to count the guns, weapons, axes, and pick-axes of all the French in the Fort and to make a list of those who had arms and of those who did not, so that in case of need everything could be made use of.

Toward ten o'clock A. M. a sortie was made by twenty men for the purpose of destroying a fence which enclosed an orchard. The trees were cut down and the palings pulled up and burned with the trees, and the field was cleared. The garden belonged to Mr. Cesir<sup>97</sup>, a French citizen of the Fort. In the afternoon the Commandant ordered the judge to call all the French in the Fort together at the church door in order to read the news of the conclusion of peace. After the reading the band played for an hour.

A son of a certain French settler was unhappily among the plotters, but by a multitude of remonstrances and a feeling of shame was induced to recognize his fault and that of his companions and desert them. He brought away

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<sup>97</sup>Jean Cesir was a blacksmith who came to Detroit from Lachine about 1734 and took up his residence on St. Louis street. His wife was Margaret Charlotte Girard, daughter of Leo Girard of Lachine. Jean died and was buried at Detroit April 23, 1767. His wife was buried at Detroit Sept. 28, 1797. *Denisson's Genealogies MMS.*

pondiak à Se retiré, très peiné de voir engagé dans son parti une bande de coquin.

Pondiak renvoya Les anciens Leurs donnant La main à tous en Les saluant chacun Se retira chez Soy Bien couroucé d'avoir été Spectateurs d'une action aussi basse qui tôt ou tard tomberoient sur tous Les français. Les gabans qui ayant accepté Le colier restèrent au Camp parce qu'ils savaient bien qu'après une action pareille ils ne trouveroient plus et aucun ne les voullurent Les recevoir chez eux, ce conseil Commença et ne finit qu'à huit heures de sorte que le jour était trop avancé pour essayer à trouver les qualités guerrières des nouveaux Sauvages.

3e Juillet—Dimanche 3e Juillet.—Les Sauvages employèrent toute La journée au festin et a regalé Leurs nouveaux guerrier. Mr. Le Cdt. qui Sçus Le matin ce qui s'était passé La veil au camp ordonna à Mr. Le Juge de conter les fusils, les armes, Les haches et les pioches de tous les français du fort et de faire une liste de ceux qui avaient des armes et de ceux qui n'en avaient point, afin que de tout on pûe s'en servir au besoin. Sur les dix heures du matin il sorties vingt hommes de la garnison pour defaire une cloture où il y avait un jardin fruitier. Les arbres furent buchés et les pieux arraché et Brulé avec les arbres et L'on rendit ce terrain nette. Ce jardin appartenait à Mr. Césir, bourgeois du fort. Dans l'après midy Mr. Le Juge eut ordre de Mr. Le Commandant de faire assemblé tous Les français du fort devant La porte de l'église pour Leur faire La lecture des conclusions de la paix ou après La lecture faite il y eut un concert d'instrument L'espace d'un heure.

Un habitant qui malheureusement avait Son fils du nombre des cabaliste Lequel par Beaucoup de remontrances et de honte que L'on Luy fit, reconnu Sa faute et celle de tous ces camarades se retira d'avec eux et emporta avec Luy le colier qu'il donna à son père pour rendre à pondiak.

with him the war-belt which he gave to his father to take back to Pontiac. Early in the morning the father went to see Pontiac who loved him greatly and said to him:

"My brother, thou who art chief whom up to now I have known as possessing sense, but thou hast it no longer since thou dost listen to young men who will betray thee instead of aiding thee and perhaps will deliver thee to the English. Thou who dost command so many people, thou allowest thyself to be commanded by people who have no intelligence. Those who have told thee that they are going to assist thee in capturing the Fort will be the first to run away. Thou hast always scorned a man who placed himself \* \* \* \* \* saying to thyself that he was a worthless fellow, and today \* \* \* \* \* Hast thou lost thy mind? Why place \* \* \* \* \* like thee, young men who have no sense and who are going to come here in tears to deny what they have said? \* \*

\* \* \* with thee, because they will kill thee perhaps. O Indians, you are men and have no need of anybody and if you make use of these young men, under what obligations will our Father be to you? When he comes and learns how you have compelled the French to take up arms he will say: 'It is not you who have driven out the English, it is the French and the rest of you have only looked on.' He will scorn you. Therefore, Pontiac, listen to me. Take back thy war-belt which my son returns, and ponder well what I have just told thee."

Pontiac, for an Indian, was not lacking in intelligence \* \* \* \* \* as well as those of his Ottawa nation. (He listened) very attentively to what the Frenchman had just told him. "Thou art right, my brother," he replied, "and I thank thee for the warning thou hast given me." And he took the war-belt and they separated—one to go to the camp, the other to his home. From this time on they did not press the French to take up hostilities. It was only the Chippewas, the Pottawattamies, and the bad Huron band that tried several times to compel the French to attack the English as I shall tell later.

Cette homme fut de bon matin trouvé pondiak de qui il était beaucoup aimé et Luy dit: toy mon frère qui est chef et qui Jusque icy Jay connu avoir de L'esprit, tu n'en as plus pour écouter de jeunes gens qui dans quelque tems, au lieu de t'aider, te trahirons et peut estre te Livrerons aux anglois, toy qui commande tant d'hommes, tu te laisses commandé par des gens qui n'ont point d'esprit. Ceux qui t'ont dit qu'ils vont t'aider à prendre Le fort Seront Les premiers à fuir, vous qui avez toujours méprisé un homme qui se mettait \* \* \* \* \* vous disant que c'était un mauvais sujet et aujourd'hui \* \* \* \* \* vous avez donc perdue L'esprit, pourquoy mettre \* \* \* Comme vous des jeunes gens qui n'ont point d'esprit et qui vont venir pleuré pour se dédire de ce qu'ils auront dit \* \* \* \* \* Sujet d'avec vous parce que peut estre ils vous tueront, vous autres, vous êtes des hommes et qui n'avez besoin de personne et si vous vous servez de ces jeunes gens quel obligation vous aura notre père lorsqu'il vienne quand il Sçaura que vous avez fait prendre Les armés aux français, il vous dira ce n'est pas vous autres qui avez chassé Les anglais, ce sont les français et vous autres vous n'avez rien fait que regarder et il ne vous regardera pas, ainsy pondiak, crois moy reprend ton collier que mon fils te rend et ecoute Bien ce que Je viens de te dire.

Pondiak pour un Sauvage ne manquait pas d'esprit \* \* \* \* \* tout ainsi que ceux de sa nation Outaouaise, Beaucoup \* \* \* \* \* attentivement ce que le français venais de lui dire; et il lui répondit Tu as raison, mon frère, Je te remercie de tes avertissements que tu m'as donné et ce que tu me dit, et reprenant Le colier ils se Separèrent, un pour aller au camp et L'autre aller chez Luy depuis ce temps ils inquiétèrent plus Les français pour prendre Les armes, il n'y eût que les Sauteurs, Les paux et la mauvaise bande des hurons qui voulaient forcé Les français de frapé sur eux plusieurs fois comme Je le diray

The heads of families replied to Pontiac's council that they did not wish to take up arms.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) A marginal note in French original.

When the Hurons of the bad band who were never of any value either to the English or the French knew that Pontiac had contented himself with volunteers and did not care, anyhow, to urge the French to begin hostilities, they leagued together with the Pottawattamies and the Chippewas to force the settlers to join them; they threatened to attack them if they did not consent, and said they would lead away the young men in spite of their fathers. This caused a great deal of bad blood between the French and the Indians; the French wished to remain neutral, but fearing that the threats of the three nations would be followed by action they seized their arms for mutual defense, kept guard, and posted sentries on the highways for fear of surprise.

The savages when they saw that the French were on their guard did not dare attack them, but took their revenge on the live stock which they found scattered around. Mr. Pierre Reaume<sup>98</sup> who lived on the other side of the river across from the Fort and feared that this storm might chance to fall on him, came to ask the Commandant for an asylum in the Fort, and it was granted him.

July 4. Monday.

Mr. Pierre Réaume who had received permission the night before to retire into the Fort with his whole family brought over the river in the early dawn of the morning his household goods and animals, and went to lodge in the house of Mr. Dequindre<sup>99</sup> which was vacant at the time. The Commandant learned that the Indians with some of the renegades had thrown up an intrenchment in the night in the rear of the house of Mr. Baby northeast of the Fort \* \* \* \* \* distant. Hereupon he ordered Mr. Hay, officer of the Royal-Americans, to sally forth with thirty

<sup>98</sup>Pierre Reaume, father-in-law of Jacques Baby. Baby also came into the fort on this day and Louis Campan, who came in with a message from Pontiac, asked permission to remain. The commandant agreed to let the Frenchmen in if they would bring provisions with them.

<sup>99</sup>Louis Cesair Dequindre, colonel of militia, lived on St. Antoine street in



et adie my Desfriches, ce est a torte etant trop loingni de sa  
residence pour quil puisse la mettre en salu, outrequ'il a  
dovz autres arpentz de forest qui lay doient a adie d'occupacion  
stant Chongis au surplus de l'en ce rente ce sont fligiermes  
trop accionals et podi d'enables pour fairez ustres, et, auons  
jugi apropos d'elices les quatre arpentz susdits esqui pour  
enon esquis designis pour teneure le aboute Harter, pour  
quey a Reconu et confesse avoir vendue, Cede, quite  
transporte et delais. Datant des maintenant a toutz jours,  
Promis et jolige faire joins a garantir de tous troubles  
des Docteurs, loichons, substitution, fideicomis, isusfruits,  
hypotèques, alienations et de tous longementz quelconcs.  
quelconque a Actours Nicolas Lozon filz habitant au



dans la Suite—Reponce au Conseil de pondiak par les pères de famille qu'ils veut plus prendre Les armes.

Les hurons de la Mauvaise Bande qui n'ont jamais rien vallûe ny pour les anglais, ny pour Le françois Sçachant que pondiak S'était contenté de volontaires, alors ne voullait plus inquieter Les françois pour Les armes Se debandèrent avec Les paux et Les sauteurs pour contraindre Les habitans à prendre Les armes avec eux Les menaçant de frapper sur Eux Sy ils ny Consentotent Et qu'ils emmeneroient Les jeunes gens français malgré Les pères, ce qui causa une grande révolution Entre Les françois et ses Sauvages, Les français voullaient demeuré neutre, mais craignant que Les menaces, de ses trois nations ne fussent Suivies des effets, ils prirent Les armes entre eux pour se gardées et montèrent La garde et firent faction Sur les chemins, crainte de surprise, ces Sauvages voyant que Les français Se gardoient n'osèrent pas Les attaqué, se vangèrent Sur Les animaux qu'ils trouvèrent ecarté, Mr. pierre réaume qui est établi tout devant Le fort de l'autre costé de la rivière, craignant que cette orage ne vint à tomber sur Luy, vint demander à Mr. Le Commandant à Se retirer dans Le fort ce qui Luy accordé.

4e Juillet.—Lundy 4e Juillet.—Mr. Piere Reaume qui dans La nuit précédente avait eu permission de Se retirer dans le fort avec toute sa famille fit traversé à la petite aurore du matin, Son ménage, Ses paquets et ses animaux et vint Logé dans la maison de Mr. dequindre qui pour lors était vacante. Mr. Le Commandant ayant appris que Les Sauvages avec quelques gabans avait ouvert un retranchement dans la nuit derrière La maison de Mr. Baby, distance du fort de \* \* \* \* \* arpent du fort du costé du nordest, a ce rapport Mr. Le Codt. ordonna \* \* \* pour comblé L'ouvrage nocturne des Sauvages et des gabans que Mr. Hé, officier des troupes de royales ameriquain Sortis avec trente hommes de cette troupe,

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the village. He held a military office under the King of France before the conquest and afterward under the English regime. His wife was Marie Anne Picotte de Bellestre, daughter of Francois M. Picote de Bellestre, last French commandant of Detroit.

men to level the nightly work of the savages and vagabonds.

As much to reconnoitre as to carry out the Commandant's orders the scouting party who were (not aware that) the Indians were waiting in ambush advanced at double quick toward the trench. Just as they were on the point of reaching it the savages and renegades showed themselves and opened fire without wounding anybody. Mr. Hay was not disconcerted but animated his men by his example (to advance toward) the enemy, and charged on in the face of the fire. \* \* \* \* \* the victory remained in doubt. Hearing the firing the Commandant mounted the ramparts and after he studied the situation, fearful that other Indians would reinforce their comrades and imperil his scouting party, he quickly ordered out relief for Mr. Hay. Capt. Hopkins at the head of forty troops and some French of \* \* \* \* \* hastened out on the run.

The savages held their ground against the first comers because they were intrenched, but with the coming of assistance they found themselves too weak. The renegades abandoned the breastwork at once and fled, and it was only the Indians who disputed the field for some time with the English who carried the place. When Mr. Hopkins saw the obstinacy of the Indians he ordered a part of his men to deploy in a circle in order to take the Indians on the flank, while the rest occupied them in front. This maneuver succeeded. The Indians abandoned their shelter and were pursued so closely that in the retreat two of them were killed, one of whom was scalped by an Englishman who had formerly been a prisoner among them. A soldier was slightly wounded by a blow on the head from the butt of a gun in the hands of one of the Indians who was killed. As this same man killed the Indian he got all of his silver ornaments to pay for the damage. After the Indians were driven away the trench was filled up and all the fences near by burned.

When the expedition was finished the whole troop re-en-

tant pour aller en decouverte, tout aussi biën que pour  
 exécuter Les Ordres de Mr. Le Cdt, Les de Couvreurs  
 qui n'étoient \* \* \* \* Les Sauvages étaient embus-  
 qué avançaient à grand pas vers la tranché, ils allaient  
 arrivé dedans Lorsque Les Sauvages et les gabans  
 Les découvrir et Les attaquer Sans en blessé aucun. Mr.  
 Hé sans perdre contenance, animé par Son exemple, Son  
 monde \* \* \* \* à L'ennemie et avec Son monde  
 fonce dessus Le feu \* \* \* \* La victore balança,  
 Mr. Le Cdt. à ses décharge monte Sur Les ramparts et  
 ayant examiner L'action et craignant que d'autres Sauvages  
 ne vinrent se joindrent à leurs comarade et par consequent  
 decouvreurs Seraient trop à soutenir Envoy promptement  
 du secour à Mr. hé, Mr. hobquinse, capitaine à la  
 teste de quarante hommes de troupe et quelque français de  
 \* \* \* \* coururent à toute jambe. Les Sauvages  
 tenoient aux premiers parce ce qu'ils étaient retranché,  
 mais Lorque Le Se Cours vint ils se trouvèrent trop faible  
 Les gabans abandonner Les premiers Le retranchement et  
 Se Sauvèrent il n'y eût que Les Sauvages qui disputèrent  
 pendant quelque tems avec Les anglais à qui gagneroient  
 La place. Mr. hobquinse, voyant L'obstination de sauvage  
 fit faire un quart de couvessier par une partie de son monde  
 pour prendre Les Sauvages en flanc, pendant que Les  
 autres Les amuseroient par devant, cette manoeuvre  
 reussit, Les Sauvages abandonnèrent Leur retraite. L'on  
 Les poursuivit de près et dans la poursuite il y eut deux  
 Sauvage de tué dont un eûs la chevelure Levé par un  
 anglais qui y devant avait été prisonnier chez eux, il eut  
 eu un Soldat de blessé Légèrement à la teste d'un coup de  
 crosse de fusil qu'un des Sauvages qui avoient été tué  
 lui donna, comme S'était le Soldat qui L'avait tué, il eut  
 toute sa depouille d'argenterie pour Le dédommagé de  
 Sa blessure Les Sauvages chassé, L'on combla Leurs tranché  
 et brulâ toutes les clotûres des environs, après cette  
 expédition toute La troupe rentra dans le fort avec Les

tered the Fort with the French whom the Commandant called together on the parade-ground to thank for the way they had seconded his men, and also to inquire which ones of them had no arms. Weapons were brought out and given to these, and any who had arms which were faulty in any particular were directed to carry them to the royal warehouse where they could be repaired at the king's expense. And \* \* \* to choose whether to volunteer or to elect an officer to command them as need might be. The French chose Mr. Sterling<sup>100</sup> for their leader, and accompanied by an officer they all went to his house where the judge notified him that the French militia had elected him to command them and how he was appointed captain. This honest man thanked the men for their choice and said he hoped there would never be any occasion for them to regret it. They all withdrew well pleased and quite resolved to do their duty under the command of such a leader.

About four o'clock in the afternoon an officer<sup>101</sup> who had commanded the fort at Sandusky and been taken prisoner by the Indians escaped from their camp, or rather from a French farm-house where his (Indian) wife had sent him for safekeeping. It was learned from him that the Indian who had been shot and scalped was a Chippewa chief and nephew of Wasson, chief of the Saginaw Chippewas, and that Wasson, enraged that his nephew had been killed in the skirmish of the morning, went to Pontiac's camp, said abusive things and demanded Mr. Campbell for revenge, saying: "My brother, I am fond of this carrion flesh which thou guardest. I wish some in my turn,—give it to me."

Pontiac gave him up and Wasson brought him to his camp where he had his young men strip him of his clothes.

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<sup>100</sup>James Sterling was a trader at Detroit who came soon after the English took possession of that place. He was one of the most important traders of the time and very influential among the French as well as the English. He married Angelique Cuillier dit Beaubien, daughter of Antoine.

<sup>101</sup>This was Ensign Christopher Paully (see note 63). When Paully was captured he was threatened with being burned alive and upon reaching Pontiac's camp was treated as prisoners were usually treated. An old woman, whose hus-

français que Le Cdt. fit assemblé Sur La place d'armes pour Les remercier d'avoir secondé Sa troupe et S'informa de ceux qui n'avoient point d'armes et en fit apporté pour Les armés et ordonna que ceux qui avaient des armes dont il pouvaient manqué quelque chose de les porter chez les magasins du Roy, pour les faire racommodé aux depens du roy et \* \* \* \* \* de choisir ou d'estre volontaire ou d'avoir un officier à leur choix pour Les Commander aux Besoins, Les français choisirent Mr. Sterling par une élection pour Leurs officiers et furent tous ensemble avec un officier à sa Maison avec Mr. Le Juge qui Le prevint du choix que La milice française Luy pour Estre à leurs teste et en même tems l'avait choisi aussi pour être Capitaine de Milice, cet honneste homme remercia ces Messieurs de Leurs choix et Leurs dit qu'il espérait que dans L'occasion ils n'auraient pas Lieu d' estre mécontent de leurs choix et chacun se retira Bien Content et Bien resolu de faire Leurs devoirs Sous le Commandement d'un tel chef.

Sur Les quatre heures après midy un officier, qui avait commandé le fort de San Dosquée et pris prisonnier par les Sauvages Se Sauva du camp, ou plustôt d'une maison française où Sa femme l'avait envoyé et l'avait mis pour le cacher, L'on Sçue de luy que Le sauvage qui avait été tué et La chevelure Levé était chef sauteurs et neveu de ousson, chef des Sauteurs du Saguinaw et que ce ousson, furieux, enragé que son neveu avait été tué dans l'action du matin fut au camp de pondiak à qui il dit des sotises et lui demanda Mr. Cambel, en revenge et il lui dit: Mon frère J'aime Bien cette mauvaise viande que tu en prends soin, Je veux L'avoir à mon tour, donne moy La, pondiak Le lui donna, que ousson emmena à son camp où il Le fit depouillé de ses habits par ses jeunes gens et après Le

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band had died, chose to adopt him in place of the warrior, which alternative he accepted, thus saving his life. Another account says that he was aided in his escape by a handsome young squaw who had fallen in love with him. He was dressed and painted so like an Indian and his hair cut, that no one knew him when he was brought in. *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac; Diary of the Siege of Detroit.*

Then he killed him with a blow of his tomahawk, and afterwards cast him into the river; the body floated downstream to the place where the Frenchmen had taken him when he left the Fort,—in front of Mr. Cullerier's house, and here it was buried<sup>102</sup>.

Around six o'clock in the evening powder and balls were delivered at Mr. Sterling's house for the needs of the French militia.

July 5. Tuesday.

The Indians did not disturb the Fort at all. They visited the settlers and took the axes and pickaxes which they could get hold of and carried them to the blacksmiths to have them sharpened. The smiths refused to work for them saying their forges were in the Fort.

The same day the leader of the renegades, now living with the Indians, undertook to enlist the services of the sons of the settlers to help him capture or burn one of the sloops. To this end he visited some of the settlers where he knew there were young men to try to enroll them in his gang. But it was known that his plan had miscarried and he resolved to abandon it. In order to escape (the renegade fled) to the Illinois country, for many of the settlers threatened to hand him over to the Commandant who would not have been slow in rewarding him according to his just deserts.

July 6. Wednesday.

The Indians for some days had cherished the idea of burning the big sloop which guarded the highway and hindered them from approaching the Fort from that side; they did not know how to go about it and visited several French settlers to inquire in what way they could do it. In order to get rid of them and be let alone, the only reply the settlers made was that they did not know how to undertake the matter.

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<sup>102</sup>The *Gentleman's Magazine* 1763, p. 455, gives a graphic description of this murder. Capt Campbell was butchered in revenge of one of the sachem's sons who was killed in a skirmish at Detroit; they gave him time to pray, kneeling on the body of the deceased chief, then killed him, taking his heart and eating it reeking hot and cutting his body to pieces with tomahawks." Ruthertford, in his narrative, says that the killing of Campbell by the Chippewas so enraged the Ottawas that they determined to have satisfaction for this outrage and pitched



Massacrèrent à coup de casteste et après L'avoir tué, ils Le jettèrent à la rivière et le corps dériva jusque vers l'endroit où Les françois L'avait mené quand il sortis du fort devant la Maison de Mr. Cullierrie, où il fut enteré. Sur Les Six heures du soir, il fut delivré, chez Mr. Sterling à la milice française, de la poudre et des balles pour servir aux Besoins.

5e Juillet.—Le Mardy 5e Juillet.—Les Sauvages n'inquièterent point Le fort ils furent chez Les habitans et prirent des haches et des pioches qu'ils attrappèrent et Les portèrent à des forgeons pour Les faire raccommodé, Les forgerons refusèrent de travailler pour eux, disant que Leurs forge étoient dans Le fort, ce mesme jour Le chef des gabans qui etaient avec Les Sauvages entrepris d'engagé dans son partis Les enfants domiciliés habitant pour lui aidé à prendre ou brulé une des barques, pour cette effet, il fut chez une partie des habitants où il sçavait qu'il y avait des jeunes gens pour Les enollé avec Luy mais il fut Sçu que Son dessein échoua et se resolué d'abandonner. Le \* \* \* \* \* pour Se Sauvé aux illinois parce que beaucoup d'habitans Le menacèrent de le prendre et de le livré à Mr. Le Cdt. qui n'aurait pas manqué de Le recompenser Selon Son Merite.

6e Juillet.—Mercredy, Juillet 6e.—Les Sauvages qui depuis quelques jours avoient formé l'idée de brulé La grosse Barque qui Leurs nuisoient Le long du grand chemin et leurs empêchoient de venir approché du fort par cette route et ne sachant Comment Sy prendre ils furent demander chez plusieurs français comment et de quel façon ils falloit qu'ils S'y prissent, ils eurent pour tout bonne reponse des habitants qu'ils ne Scavoient pas Comment il falait faire pour qu'ils fussent tranquille et de Se debarrassé deux.

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upon Ensign Paully as the means of compensating their loss. He, however, was informed of his danger by a handsome squaw who fell in love with him and assisted him to escape. When the Ottawas found that Paully had escaped, they set upon Rutherford as being next in rank and superior to any of the other prisoners, but his master or newly adopted father "Perwash" (a Chippewa) hid him safely and after the excitement had subsided, took him away. On his way he passed the body of the slain Campbell, mangled, scalped and being devoured by the dogs.

July 7. Thursday.

The Indians were quiet enough as far as the Fort was concerned for the Commandant and his officers gave them something to do in their camp. This was the way of it: Early in the morning there arose a slight wind from the southeast which appeared to favor the English in their design to pay Pontiac a visit in his camp with the big sloop. As they were getting under way the wind fell and they anchored until it should become more favorable. The wind was not long in rising; by eleven o'clock it had increased and grown strong enough for them to weigh anchor a second time, and now not uselessly. They ascended the river to a point in front of Pontiac's camp where they anchored and lavishly saluted his village with cannon balls and grenades.

Neither Pontiac nor his people were expecting such a visit, but they were able to save themselves by flight, abandoning their cabins and belongings which were knocked over by the balls and shells. This pastime lasted from noon till \* \* \* The sloop remained at anchor till four o'clock when she returned to where she came from. With all this destruction not a savage was wounded.

During the time that a part of the English were visiting Pontiac's camp with terror, the Pottawattamies came with Mr. Gammelín for the purpose of making peace with the Commandant; their request was granted on condition that they would remain neutral and surrender their prisoners,—a promise they made but did not keep.

The same day both the Huron bands held a council between themselves with the object of coming to the Fort to make peace with the Commandant<sup>103</sup>.

July 8. Friday.

The Commandant who had a plan to send the sloop to Niagara ordered that she be ballasted by demolishing an old building which formerly served as a powder magazine

<sup>103</sup>In Schoolcraft's translation there is a marginal note which is now missing from the original. " \* \* \* Indians, having seen that \* \* \* in the camp, Mr. \* \* \* their prisoners, escaping \* \* \* Mr. Marsac."

7e Juillet.—Jeudi 7 Juillet.—Les Sauvages furent assez tranquille pour Le fort Mr. Le Commandant and les officiers leur donnèrent de l'occupation dans Leurs camp, voyez comment \* \* \* \* \* du matin, il se leva un petit vent de Soroais, qui paroissait favoriser Ses Mrs. dans le dessein qu'ils avaient d'aller rendre visite à pondiak dans son Camp avec La grosse Barque, Comme ils appareillaient la barque pour se mettre en route Le vent mollis et ils jettèrent L'ancre pour attendre que le vent devint plus favorable, qui ne fut pas Longtemps sans Lever. A onze heures ayant augmenté et étant devenu fort ils levèrent l'ancre pour La seconde fois, mais pas inutilement et ils restèrent dans La rivière vis à vis Le Camp de pondiak ou ils jetèrent l'ancre et ils Saluèrent.  
- - - - - (remarques en marge.)

\* \* \* \* \* Le camp à boulet et grenades Sans épargnés Pondiak qui ne S'attendait ni Luy n'y Ses gens à une pareille visite Su se ——— sauvé du camp, abandonnant cabane et butin, qui fut culbuté par les boulets et par les bombes, ce divertissement dura depuis midy \* \* \* La barque mouilla jusqu'a quatre, qu'elle revint d'où elle avait partis, dans tous ce dégas il n'y eu aucun Sauvage de Blessé, Pendant Le tems qu'une partie de ses Mrs. étaient a donné L'épouvante au Camp de Pondiak, Les poux vinrent avec Mr. Gommelin pour demander à faire La paix avec Mr. Le Commandant, ce qui Leurs fut accordé a Condition qu'ils demeureroient neutre et qu'ils rendroient Les prisonniers, ce qu'ils promirent et ne tinrent point. Le mesme jour Les deux bandes de hurons tinrent conseil entre eux pour venir au fort faire La paix avec Mr. Le Cdt.

8 Juillet.—Vendredi Le 8 Juillet.—Mr. Le Cdt. qui avait dessein de renvoyé La Barque à Niagara ordonna que pour La Lesté, il fut demolly une vielle mazure qui cy devant Servait de poudrière pour en avoir La pierre pour Servir de charge à la barque, ce qui fut exécuté dans La

to get stone to load her with. This was done in the course of the morning by the French and the soldiers.

Toward two o'clock in the afternoon the Hurons came to treat with the Commandant in accordance with the council they had held in their village the night before. At the Commandant's order the gate was opened for them and they were admitted into the Fort; they held a council on the drill-ground and asked for an opportunity to make peace with the English. They were told that if they would return all the prisoners and merchandise in their lodges, all their errors would be pardoned and the past forgotten. They said they wished to return to their village and make the same announcement to their brothers and get them to consent; they then withdrew willing to do all that was required.

About five o'clock the Pottawattamies returned with Mr. Gammelín and promised to give up the English prisoners who had been in their village for several days in exchange for their comrades who were held here.

Around six o'clock the Ottawas took up a position in ambush in the rear of Mr. Beaubien's<sup>104</sup> house, and for an hour fired upon the big sloop which replied with several volleys without harming them in the least.

This same day Mr. Maisonville<sup>105</sup> arrived with a cargo of brandy, lead, salt, and bales, and reached \* \* \* with great difficulty.

July 9. Saturday.

The Ottawas and the Chippewas formed a scheme to burn the sloops at anchor if they could. To accomplish their purpose they set to work to make a fire-raft which they intended, when all was ready, to send down the river with the current to the vicinity of the big sloop. This task kept them busy two days, during which time the Fort was not annoyed.

The Hurons, as they had promised the day before, came

<sup>104</sup>Cuillerier dit Beaubien.

<sup>105</sup>*Diary of the Siege of Detroit, June 8th*, records that several of the principal inhabitants brought in their goods on the 7th and 8th. Maisonville was among

matinée par Les francais et Les Soldats anglais de La matinée.

Sur les deux heures après midy Les hurons vinrent pour traiter avec Mr. Le Commandant Suivant Le Conseil qu'ils avaient tenu la veille à Leurs Villages. Mr. Le Commandant Leurs fit ouvrir La porte et ils Les admit dans Lefort et tinrent Conseil sur La place d'armes où ils demandèrent à faire La paix avec ses Mrs., il leur fut répondû. \* \* \* \* \* que s'ils voulaient rendre tous les prisonniers et les marchandises et resté tranquille sur Leurs natte que tout Leur sotisses seraient pardonné et que Lepassé serait oublié, ils répondirent qu'ils voulaient retourner à Leurs village pour parlé à Leurs frères, de la mesme manière et de Les faire consentir et ils se retirèrent résoud à tout ce que l'on exigeaient deux, promettant de venir Le Landemain.

Sur les cinq heures Les poux vinrent avec Mr. Gommelin pour retourner et pour promettre Les prisonniers anglais qui etaient dans Leurs villages depuis plusieurs jours dans davoir Leurs comarades qui était retenus là.

Sur les Six heures, Les Outaouis vinrent S'embusquer en arrière de la maison de Mr. Beaubien et ont tiré l'espace d'un heure sur La grosse Barque qui Leur a envoyé plusieurs coups de fusil sans leurs faire Le moindre tord. Ce mesme jour Mr. Maisonville est arrivé avec une charge, d'eau de vie, de plomb, de fusil et de paquets et est venue \* \* \* \* \* avec Bien de la peine.

9e Juillet.—Le Samedi 9e Juillet.—Les Outaouais et les Sauteux formèrent le dessein de brûler Les barques à l'ancre S'ils le pouvaient, pour y réussir, ils se mettent à faire un cajeux pour envoyer Sur la rivière à la drive aux environs où était la grosse barque quand il serait fait. Cet ouvrage Les occupa deux jours, pendant ce temps Le fort ne fut point inquiété. Sur Les quatre heures Les hurons revinrent Comme ils L'avoient promis La journée

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the number and brought in five periguas loaded with 10,000 weight of lead and peltry. He was a trader and was at Ouïatanon when it was taken. He was of great assistance in protecting the lives of the English garrison.

about four o'clock bringing with them seven prisoners,—five men, one of whom was the commandant<sup>106</sup> of Pres-qu'Isle, a woman, and a child; they handed these over to the Commandant and asked to make peace. They were told in reply that they must return all the merchandise which they had taken from the traders, even to a needle, and then terms of peace would be granted them. They withdrew promising to restore all the merchandise they had in their village.

Toward seven o'clock in the evening the Commandant was warned that the savages would fire the Fort by means of arrows, and that they had made a fire-raft out of boats with which to set fire to the two sloops in the course of the night. It was true that they were working upon a plan to burn the sloops, but it did not succeed.

July 10. Sunday.

The Indians who had worked for two days to set fire to the vessels, about two o'clock in the morning sent down their work which was two boats bound together with ropes and filled with kindling of dry wood and (birch bark). The whole thing burst into flame and came floating down the river, passing two hundred feet from the sloops without doing them any harm at all. When the Indians saw that their time was lost with the useless work they set about another fire-boat and left the Fort in peace the whole day.

About seven in the evening the Commandant was warned by the French from outside that the Indians were surely going to set fire to the Fort under cover of the night. However this might be, he put no credence in it for generally these news-bearers were liars who invented many things or told some lie or other for sake of the welcome, and then came and troubled the officers who frequently laughed at them for their pains. Still, as it frequently happens that some truth is concealed among a tissue of stories and lies, the Commandant gave orders that four

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<sup>106</sup>Ensign John Christie.

précédente et ammenèrent avec eux sept prisonniers, cinq hommes dont Le Commandant de la presqu'île était du nombre, une femme et un enfant qu'ils rendirent à Mr. Le Commandant et demandèrent La paix, il Leur fut repondu qu'il falloir qu'ils rendent toutes Les marchandises qu'ils avaient pris aux marchands jusqu'à une aiguille de fil et que après La paix leur serait accordée, ils se retirèrent promettant d'apporté tout Les marchandises qu'ils avaient dans Leurs villages.

Sur les Sept heurs du soir Mr. Le Cdt. fut averti que Les Sauvages voulaient mettre Le feu au fort avec des flèches et qu'ils avaient fait un Cajeu avec des bateaux pour mettre Le feu aux deux Barques dans le Courans de la nuit, il est vray qu'ils travaillèrent bien à dessein de faire Brûler Les Barques, mais ils n'ont pas réussis.

10e Juillet.—Le dimanche 10e Juillet.—Les Sauvages qui avoient travaillé Les deux jours précédent pour L'incendie des deux Barques, envoyèrent Sur les deux heures du matin Leurs ouvrage qui était deux Bateaux Liées avec de grosses cordes blanc remplis de bois sec fendue par éclat avec des \* \* \* \* Le tout pris en feu et vint derivé Sur la rivière et passa à un arpent des barques Sans leur faire Le moindre mal. L'ouvrage des sauvages devint inutile, Leurs temps était perdue, ce que voyant Les Sauvages travaillèrent à un autre cajeux et ne vinrent point de La journée inquiéter Le fort.

Sur les sept heures du soir Mr. Le Cdt. fut averti par des français de dehors que Les Sauvages devoient Sûrement mettre Le feu au fort, dans la nuit à la faveur de L'obscurité, ce que peut estre il ne mit aucune croyance car La pluspart du tems ces nouvellistes étaient des menteurs qui pour Se faire bien venir, Souvent supposoient bien des choses et faisait quelque mensonge et en venaient faire qui troublait. Ses Mrs. qui pour Les remercié Souvent se moquoient deux, neantmoins comme il arrive quelquefois que parmis toutes ces choses, et de mensonge il se trouve quelque verité, à cette nouvelle Mr. Le Cdt.

Frenchmen and four soldiers be posted at once in bivouac a couple hundred feet beyond the four corners of the Fort, with orders to fire if they saw anything and then fall back upon the Fort.

July 11. Monday.

The savages who were occupied with a second enterprise about like the first did not come to fire on the Fort the whole day.

Toward ten o'clock in the morning the Hurons came to fulfill their promise and brought all the merchandise which had been plundered from the traders upon the lake and on the river, and peace was concluded between them and the English.

About six a Frenchman from without the Fort came to warn the Commandant that the savages had the second fire-boat ready and that they would set it afloat in the night; which was done.

July 12. Tuesday.

One hour after midnight the Indians sent off their second raft with as much success as the first one. Two cannon shots were fired from the Fort toward the highway leading off to the southwest which scattered the savages who were seated on the edge of the river to admire the effect of their work. The sloop fired two cannon shots at the raft and broke it to pieces, and rendered the labor of the natives useless.

About ten o'clock in the morning the Pottawattamies came in accordance with their arrangement to fetch three English prisoners and make peace, which was granted them. They then demanded their man. The Commandant told them that when they had returned all the prisoners which they had in their village they would get the man they wanted and everything would be settled. They put off till three the settling of what was asked of them. Toward three in the afternoon the sloop which had come from Niagara set out on her return, with orders to bring back provisions and reinforcements.



ordonna qu'il fut Commandé Sur Le champ quatre français et quatre Soldats pour aller en bivouac à un arpent en dehors du fort au quatre coins, avec ordre de tirer s'il voyait quelque chose et de Se retirer Sous le fort après avoir Laché Leurs Coups.

11e Juillet.—Lundy 11e Juillet.—Les Sauvages qui estoient occupé à un Second entreprise à peu près pareille aux premier ne vinrent point tiré Sur Lefort de la journée.

Sur les dix heures du matin, Les hurons vinrent S'acquiter de leurs promesse rapportant toutes Les marchandises qui avaient été prises aux marchands sur Le Lac et dans La rivière et La paix furent conclus entre eux et ces Mrs.

Sur les Six heures un françois de dehors du fort vint avertir Mr. Le Cdt. que le deuxième cajeu des Sauvages était fait et qu'ils devaient L'envoyé dans La nuit, ce qui fut aussi.

12e Juillet.—Le Mardy 12e Juillet.—A un heure après minuit Les Sauvages envoyèrent Le deuxième cajeu avec autant de réusssite que le premier, il fut tiré deux coups de canon du fort Sur le chemin des Coste du Sorouais qui mis en fuitte Les Sauvages qui étaient assis Sur le bord de la rivière pour admirer L'effet que ferait Leurs ouvrages, La barque tira deux coups de canon Sur le cajeu qui le rompit et rendit l'ouvrage des sauvages inutile.

Sur les dix heures du matin Les pax vinrent suivant leurs arrangements anmener trois anglais qu'ils avaient prisonnier pour avoir la paix, qui Leur fut accordé, ils demandèrent Leurs hommes, Mr. Le Commandant leur dit que quand ils auroient rendue tous les prisonniers qu'ils avoient dans Leurs villages on Leurs rendraient Celui qu'ils demandoient et que tout seroient conclues, ils remirent à L'après midy à conclure ce qu'on Leurs demandoient, vers Les trois heures après midy la barque venue de niagara partie pour y retourner avec ordre d'amener des vivres et du monde.

About the same time the Pottawattamies returned as they had promised in the morning with seven prisoners whom they surrendered to the Commandant, at the same time asking for their comrade. As he was about to hand him over a man named Jacqueman<sup>107</sup>, one of the Pottawattamies' recent prisoners who had been given to them for a present, said to the Commandant in English that they had still other prisoners in their village. This led the Commandant to change his mind and hold back the prisoner, telling the Pottawattamies to bring all the prisoners they had and their request would be granted. This did not please them much, and with an interchange of glances they formed the plan at the risk of destruction to fall upon the Commandant and the officers who were with them and kill them. The thing that arrested the deed was this: an Ottawa Indian who entered the Fort with the others and had been recognized by Mr. MacDougall for an Ottawa was arrested and locked up under a heavy guard. Although displeased not to obtain their demands, this frightened the Pottawattamies and they withdrew with the determination to wreak vengeance in the coming night.

July 13. Wednesday.

The Indians who had learned some days before that guards had been posted outside the Fort to surprise them if they came near the Fort in the night resolved to be revenged for the refusal they had received the day preceding. To this end, they came in the night to spy out the sentinels who were ordered to fire at whatever they saw; the Indians discovered and fired upon them and dangerously wounded a Frenchman who was posted on the southwest side. The rest of the day passed quietly enough around the Fort.

The same day in the afternoon the Hurons asked for a secret council. There was a young woman who wanted

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<sup>107</sup>This was evidently Chapman (see note 46). On this day Crawford and Chapman, both traders, one of Hopkin's men, four Royal Americans, two Rangers and one of Crawford's men were brought to the fort and given up.





Vers le même tems Les paux revinrent comme ils avoient promis Le matin et emmener avec eux sept prisonniers qu'ils donnèrent aux Cdt. en Luy demandant Leurs Camarade, comme il était pour Leurs délivré, un nommé Jacqueman cy devant prisonnier et qui leur avait été donné en présent aux paux qui venaient de le rendre et il dit en anglais au Cdt. que Les paux avaient encore des prisonniers dans Leurs villages, ce qui fut cause que le Cdt. changea de ton et d'idées et retin son prisonnier faisant dire aux paux de ramener tous les prisonniers qu'ils avaient et qu'on Leurs accorderoient ce qu'ils demandoient \* \* \* \* \* cela ne Les rendis pas beaucoup contents qui Se regardèrent et ils formèrent Le dessein au risque de périr de fraper Sur Le Commandant et Les officiers qui L'accompagnait, ce qui arrêta Le coup ce fut qu'un Sauvage Outaouais qui était entré dans Le fort avec eux qui ayant été reconnu par Mr. Magdougat pour outaouais fut arrêté et mis en prison sous bonne garde, cela donna La peur aux paux qui quoique mecontent de ny pas avoir ce qu'ils demandoient Se retirèrent avec resolution de se vanger dans la nuit précédente.

13e Juillet.—Le Mercredy 13 Juillet.—Les Sauvages qui avaient Sçu quelque jours auparavant que l'on mettait des factionnaires dehors du fort pour Les surprendre quand ils viendroient La nuit auprès du fort résolurent de Se vangé du refus qu'ils leur avaient été fait Le jour précédent, pour cela ils vinrent dans La nuit pour découvrir Les factionnaires: qui avaient ordre de tiré Sur ce qu'il verraient, ils Les découvrirent et tirèrent dessus et blessèrent dangereusement un français, qui étoient en Sentinel du coté du Sorouais. Le reste de la journée Se passa assez paisiblement du costé du fort.

Ce même jour après midy Les hurons demandèrent un Conseil Secret, il y fut une demoiselle qui voullu y être

to be present, but at the request of the Indians she was asked to remain away.

July 14. Thursday.

The Frenchman<sup>108</sup> who had been wounded Wednesday morning died of his wounds about the same time of night as when he was wounded; he was buried as soon as possible so that nobody outside the Fort might know that he had been killed, but in spite of the precautions which were taken to conceal his death it was known by both the French and the Indians.

July 15. Friday.

Nothing of any importance happened.

July 16. Saturday.

A slave belonging to Mr. Beaubien came into the Fort, having been sent by his master to reclaim some live stock which had been frightened by the Indians and had wandered to the Fort. The slave was arrested and imprisoned because, according to rumor, he had been with the Indians firing on the English and upon the sloop.

July 17. Sunday.

Several people who knew perfectly well that this slave was a respectable man and who had known about his conduct at the commencement of this affair came to the Fort to vouch for the Pawnee and secure his discharge, but pardon was refused him till further evidence from other witnesses.

About \* \* o'clock in the evening Mr. Gammelin came to the Fort with two men, and reported that the Indians planned to attack the French settlers in the surrounding region and asked for arms and ammunition, which were given him. He was cautioned to take good care of himself, and to send the same word to all the settlers; and at the first gunshot fired in the region men would sally from the Fort to assist them.

Upon receipt of this news the Commandant ordered that all the French who were in the Fort should be under

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<sup>108</sup>Cavelier: See note 80.

admis, mais à la demande des Sauvages fut prié d'estre dehors.

14 Juillet.—Jeudi 14 Juillet.—Le français qui avait été blessé Le mercredy matin mourût de ses blessures vers le même tems qu'il avait été blessé et fut enterré aussitôt que possible, afin que l'on ne Scût pas dehors Le fort que il avait été tué, mais malgré les précautions que l'on pris pour caché Sa mort, elle fut Sçue par les français et par les Sauvages.

15e Juillet.—Vendredy 15e Juillet.—Il ne S'est rien passé qui mérite attention.

16e Juillet.—Samedy 16e Juillet.—Un esclave appartenant à Mr. Beaubien vint dans le fort ayant été envoyé par son maître pour réclamé des animaux qui ayant été effarouchés par Les Sauvages S'était réfugié dans Le fort, cette esclave fut arrêté et mis en prison parce que Soit disant il avait tiré avec Les Sauvages Sur ces Mrs. et Sur La Barque.

17e Juillet.—Dimanche 17e Juillet.—plusieurs personnes qui connaissait parfaitement cette esclave pour être un bon sujet et qui avaient été témoins de Sa conduite, au commencement de cette affaire, vinrent au fort à la messe et en même tems pour justifier Le panis et le faire de chargé, mais sa grâce fut refusée, en attendant d'autre temoins.

Sur les — heures du soir Mr. Gammelin vint au fort avec deux hommes et rapportèrent que Les Sauvages avaient dessein de frapé Sur Les habitans dans les costes, demanda des armes et de la munition ce qui Luy fut donnée et il Lui recommanda de se bien gardé et de le faire dire chez tous Les habitans et que au premier coup de fusils qu'il serait tiré dans La Coste, il sortiraient du monde du fort pour les secourir. Mr. Le Cdt. à cette nouvelle ordonna que tous Les français qui étaient dans le fort fussent

arms the whole night in order to give assistance to the coasts if necessary. But fortunately the night went by quietly and the settlers got off with a night's vigil and a scare.

July 18. Monday.

The gates of the Fort had been continually closed up to this day for safety and to prevent a surprise from the Indians; this was very bothersome, not only to the officers who were compelled to open them for the needs of those who asked to come in, but also for those who wanted to go out, and through fear of a refusal or of being turned back did not dare ask to have them opened. In order to settle all the difficulties knowledge of which had reached him, the Commandant ordered that the gate which faced the river should be opened to the public need from nine in the morning to six in the evening; and that two sentinels should be stationed in each side with orders not to allow any French to go out without permission, but to allow all who came to the gate to come in. The Indians were excepted in the order—truth to tell they did not approach nearer than half a mile or so, and then only with many precautions.

During all these days the Indians did not approach to fire upon the Fort.

At one o'clock the Commandant was warned that the Ottawas were engaged in something which deserved attention. They were greatly occupied in building a new fire-float of dry wood which they planned to send down along the river and which, when it was set on fire, should drift upon the sloop and burn it. But it took a long while to get the work ready for what it was designed to do.

Toward nine in the evening some Chippewas came and fired a few volleys upon the sloop which in turn replied with some balls. After the firing the Indians howled abuse at the guards upon the vessel among whom was an Englishman who had formerly been a prisoner among the Ottawas; he spoke the Chippewa tongue pretty well and he replied to the Indians in the same strain.



Sur pied toute La nuit pour encas de besoin d'aller donné du secours dans les costes, mais heureusement La nuit Se passa tranquille et Les habitans en furent quitte pour une veillé et une peur.

18e Juillet.—Le Lundy 18e Juillet.—Les portes du fort qui jusque à ce jour avait été continuellement fermé pour La Sureté du fort et par la crainte de Surprise venant des Sauvages et qui gênaient fort, tant Mrs. Les officiers pour Les faire ouvrir au besoin de ceux qui Le demandoient que ceux qui voullaient sortir par la crainte d'un refus ou de detourné ces Mrs. n'osoient en demander L'ouverture. Mr. Le Cdt. pour rompre toutes difficultés quy avaient pénétre Jusqu'à Luy ordonna que La porte qui faisait face à la rivière Serait ouverte au Besoin du public depuis neuf heures du matin jusque à Six heures du Soir avec deux factionnaires de chaque costé qui avaient ordre de ne rien Laisser Sortir du fort par aucun français Sans sa permission, mais de Laisser entré ceux qui se presenteroient à la porte, Sinon Les Sauvages, qui à dire Levray n'en approchaient Le plus près de quinze arpens et encore avec tout Bien des précautions tout ce jours Les Sauvages ne vinrent pas tiré Sur le fort. A 1e heure L'on vint avertir Mr. Le Cdt. que Les Sauvages Outaouais avoient des manoeuvres qui paraissait mériter attention, qui Les occupaient beaucoup à rebatir de nouveau un cajeux de bois sec qui suivant Leurs desseins devait venir tout le long de la rivière et que le feu étant pris avait derivé Sur La Barge pour La brûlé, mais cette ouvrage était de longue durée avant qu'il fut en état de faire ce pourquoy, il était destiné, vers Les neufs du soir, des Sauvages Sauteux vinrent tiré des coups de fusil Sur La Barque, qui Luy en envoya aussi quelque coups, après Ses décharges Les Sauvages chantèrent Sotises au gardiens de la barque parmis Lesquels il y avait un anglais qui avait été prisonnier cy devant chez Les Outaouais et qui parlait assez bien La Langue Sautaisse et il répondit aux Sauvages de la même manière que Le Sauvage. \* \* \* \* \*

July 19. Tuesday.

Around two o'clock P. M. Mr. Beaubien brought the news that some twelve savages were hidden in ambush a little more than half a mile away for the purpose of firing upon the Fort. They were discovered in their hiding place and two cannon balls and two shells were discharged at them; one of the latter hit an apple tree in which six Indians had climbed. They came down promptly and fled from the enclosure to their camp where they kept quiet the rest of the day.

July 20. Wednesday.

The Commandant received news from the Indian camp by which he was again informed that the Indians were at work making something to sweep the river, so as to succeed in burning the sloop that had remained near the Fort and protected the approaches to it; but their work was only in its infancy and it would take a week longer at least, although they had been at work upon it for four days, and were bound not to come and fire upon the Fort till the fire-raft was done.

At this report the Commandant was minded to profit by the delay in order to save his sloop from the destruction which threatened it. He ordered that two boats be sheathed inside with oak planking five inches thick and that the gunwales be increased to the height of \* \* feet \* \* and sheathed like the inside, so that a man standing upright in the boats would be protected from the bullets. In the prow of each boat a swivel gun was mounted so as to rake in three directions; these were tested in the middle of the river in front of the Fort and answered all expectations.

July 21. Thursday.

The Indians, filled with their project, worked as industriously at their fire-raft as if they were paid for it; they did not give themselves any respite, hardly taking time to eat their meals.

From what he had been told concerning the way the

19e Juillet.—Mardy 19e Juillet.—Sur les deux heures après midi, il vint la nouvelle par Mr. Beaubien qu'à quinze arpens du fort Environs douze Sauvages étaient cachés en embuscade pour tiré Sur le fort, ils furent decouverts dans Leurs retraites et il fut envoyé deux coups de canon à boulets et deux bombes dont une frappa un pommier dans Lequel il y en avait Six de monté qui Le descendirent promptement en fuyant de l'enclos dans leur camp où ils restèrent tranquille Le reste du jours.

20e Juillet.—Le Mercredi 20e Juillet.—Le matin Mr. Le Cdt. eut nouvelle du camp \* \* \* des Sauvages où L'on Luy réitera que Les Sauvages étaient à barré la rivière afin de réussir à brulé La barque qui avait resté près du fort et Les empêchaient Les approches du fort, mais que Leurs ouvrages n'était encore que naissante et qu'il y avaient encore pour huit jours d'ouvrage pour Le moins quoiqu'il y eut quatre jours qu'ils y travaillent et ils ne voulaient pas venir tiré Sur le fort que Le cajeu ne soit terminé Mr. Le Cdt. sur ce rapport voullu en profiter de ce moment de sauver sa barque de L'incendie dont elle estait menacé et ordonna que deux bateaux fussent redoublé au dedans avec Bordage de Chêne, cinq ponce d'épaisseur et rehaussé Les bords à la hauteur de \* \* \* \* pied \* \* \* \* et doublé comme le fond de sorte qu'un homme peut se tenir dans les bateaux debout était par là haut bord garanti de la balle, il fut mis dans la pince de devant de chaque bateaux un piece en barbette qui batais Sur trois faces dont l'essaie fut fait au milieu de la rivière devant Le fort et qui réussit comme L'on Se L'était attendu.

21e Juillet.—Le Jeudy 21e Juillet.—Les Sauvages occupé de leurs projets travaillèrent avec autant d'assuidité à leurs cajeux que S'ils en eussent été Bien payé, ils ne Se donnèrent aucune relâche car à peine ils se donnaient Le tems de prendre leurs repas, \* \* \* \* de ces deux bateaux ordonna et n'ayant qu'on fit à ce que Lon Luy avaient fait de la Conduite des Sauvages dans leurs

Indians went about their enterprises the Commandant judged that he had time enough yet to work upon his barges; he ordered four grappling-hooks to be rigged, two for each boat, one of each pair supplied with an iron chain fifteen feet long, the other hook made of steel or cast iron and attached to ten fathoms of cable. The two boats thus equipped were to go to meet the fire-raft and cast their grappling hooks with the chains upon it, while the other hooks or half anchors were to be dropped; in this way the course of the raft would be arrested and the sloop saved from the danger which had threatened it for some time, and the labor of the Indians rendered useless. During this time the sloop was to weigh anchor again and move nearer the Fort with the help of the cables which were to stop the fire-raft.

Toward evening a rumor spread that the Hurons of the bad band and the Chippewas were plotting to make an attack during the night on the settlers of the southwest coast; the settlers stayed on the alert all night, but fortunately the rumor proved to be unfounded.

July 22. Friday.

The day passed quietly for both parties. In the course of the day the news was brought by an Abenaki Indian, who came according to his tell, from Montreal, that a French fleet was coming to Canada to recapture the country; however, the story died in its inception as there was nothing true about it; but even though it was false it reawakened the hope of Pontiac, of his tribe, and of the Chippewas, who had \* \* \* their foolish schemes the fire-raft, the labor upon which \* \* \*

In order to rescue his master who had fallen into the river an employee of Mr. Pierre Réaume wished \* \*  
 \* (Here follow in the MMS six lines quite illegible.)<sup>109</sup>.

July 23. Saturday.

The day passed very tranquilly for both sides. About

<sup>109</sup>Schoolcraft, who had the manuscript in 1846, must have found it in a much better condition for he translates "About \* \* \* a man in the employ of Mr. Beaume (Reaume) wishing to cross the river on his master's business. As he

entreprises, il y avait encore de l'avance pour faire travailler à la barque, il ordonna qu'il fut fait quatre grapins de cordage pour mettre, deux dans chaque bateau, dont l'un de ces deux grapins avec une chaîne de fer de environ quinze pieds de Long et l'autre grapin Serait en assier ou caste de dix Brasse de Loing, les deux bateaux ainsy équipé devaient allé au devant du Sus-dit cajeux et jetter Leurs grapins enchaîne dessus, l'autre grapin ou demi ancre devait être aussi jetté à l'ancre et par cette manoeuvre arrêté Le cajeux et ainsi La barque sera sauvé du danger qui La menaçait depuis Longtemps et rendre l'ouvrage des Sauvages inutile. La barque devait pendant ce temps Levé Son ancre d'où elle était mouillé, et mouillé devant le fort à l'aide des câbles qui devaient arrêté Le Cajeu.

Vers le soir, il couru un bruit que les hurons de la mauvaise bande et les Sautaux avait fait complot de frapé dans La nuit sur les habitans de la Coste du Sorouais, ce qui Leur fit passer La nuit sur pied, mais heureusement ce bruit se trouva faux.

22e Juillet.—Vendredi 22e Juillet.—La journée Se passa bien tranquille, de part et d'autre Il couru le jour en suite, une nouvelle venant de la part d'un sauvage Abénaqui, qui Soi-disant venait de Montreal \* \* \* \* \* et qu'il venait une flotte française en Canada pour reprendre le pays, mais elle mourût dans sa naissance, n'ayant rien qu'il Le fut vray, mais néanmoins quoy que fausse elle réveilla dans le chef Pondiac et dans sa bande et des Sautaux qui avaient \* \* \* \* \* leurs folles entreprises le cajeu dont Le travail \* \* \* \* \* De la vouloir finir.

Un engagé de Mr. piere réaume voullû pour retirer Son maitre qui était tombé à la rivière. \* \* \* \* \*

23e Juillet.—Samedi 23e Juillet.—La journée Se passa fort tranquille de part et d'autre sur les trois heures de

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had reached the middle, the Indians made several discharges at him. These made him return with more speed than he had gone. About ten in the evening, as the sentinels were on the watch, random shots were fired."

three o'clock P. M. there was heard in the Fort from the direction of the Huron village a volley of gun shots as if to salute the arrival of some barge. The English feared it was to greet the coming of some new prisoners, but it turned out to be the arrival of Andre<sup>110</sup> Huron de Lorette.

July 24. Sunday.

The Indians who were bound to destroy the sloop labored hard to carry out their project, and the Commandant who was equally determined that their project should fail ordered the two boats I have spoken of before to make a reconnoissance up the river in order to disturb them in their labors, and it was done. Toward ten o'clock three officers with sixty men well armed embarked in the two boats and a barge and went up the river to discover the place where they were working.

The savages who saw the three boats in the distance and believed it was some booty coming into their hands abandoned their labors, and twenty of them with weapons in their hands came out in two canoes to meet the three boats. The English who were aboard allowed them to come within gunshot. The savages did it, not understanding the construction of these boats; they advanced with cries of joy, thinking they would capture them, but they received a rude surprise. When the commander of the boats saw them near enough for all the shots to carry, he ordered his men to seize their guns and fire not only the muskets but the swivels as well. This startled the Indians who were not expecting such a salute, and they retraced their course quicker than they had come. From the shore they fired upon the boats and slightly wounded a man in the head with a bullet which pierced his hat and carried away a lock of his hair.

The boats and the barge returned to the Fort about

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<sup>110</sup>André, a Huron Indian, was greatly trusted by the English. He carried letters from Detroit and Sandusky to Bouquet and Fort Pitt during the Indian wars. Schoolcraft adds after this sentence "who had arrived with \* \* \* Lenape chief of Belle River and that \* \* \* Detroit in \* \* \*".

l'après midy il fut entendu du fort vers le village des hurons une volée de coups de fusil, comme un salut de berge qui arrive, alors ces. Mrs. craignant que c'était quelque prisonniers que les Sauvages avaient fait, mais c'était André huron de Lorette qui arrivait.

24e Juillet.—Deinanche 24e Juillet.—Les Sauvages qui voullaient détruire La barque travaillaient fortement à faire réussir leurs projets et Mr. Le Cdt. qui voullais que Leurs projets tournassent à rien \* \* \* \* \* fit faire une découverte sur la rivière avec Les bateaux dont Jay parlé plus haut afin de les inquiéter dans leurs travaux, ce qui fut exécuté. Sur les dix heures, trois officiers à la teste de Soixante hommes de troupes bien armées Embarquèrent dans Les deux bateaux et une berge et montèrent dans la rivière pour découvrir le lieux de Leurs travaille, Les Sauvages qui virent de Loing Ses trois voitures crurent que c'était quelque proie qui leur venait, abandonnèrent Leurs ouvrages et embarquèrent au nombre de vingt dans deux canots avec Leurs armes, pour venir aux devant de c'est trois bateaux. Ces Mrs. qui étaient dedans Les Laissèrent aproché à la porté d'un fusil, ce que fesaient aussi Les Sauvages qui ne Sçavaient pas La construction de ces bateaux et avançaient en faisant des cris de joye, croyant de les tenir, et qui eut un mauvais contre tems parce que le Cdt. de ces bateaux Les voyant assez proche pour tous les coups puisse porté, ordonna à tout Sont monde de prendre Leurs armes et de faire feux tans que de la mousqueterie que du pierrier ce qui Surpris Les Sauvages qui ne S'attendaient pas à un pareille Salut, retournèrent sur Leurs pas plus vite qu'ils n'étaient venus et tirèrent Sur Les bateaux de terre et blessèrent un homme légèrement à la teste, d'une balle qui perça son chapeau et Luy emporta un bouquet de cheveux. Les bateaux et la berge revinrent au fort, Sur Les midy sans avoir pu dé-

noon without being able to discover either their hiding place or their work. The Indians followed along after them on land as far as Mr. Chauvin's<sup>111</sup> house, a mile and a quarter from the Fort, where the barge discharged a cannon ball at them which scattered them but did not wound any. However, the ball entered the house, doing great damage, and dangerously wounding two savages, one in the arm, the other in the thigh; the latter died some days later.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the Ottawa and Chippewa chiefs repaired to the village of the Hurons in obedience to a request from the chiefs of the Eries and Delawares, who had sent word early in the morning asking for a council.

The Commandant ordered the two boats and the barge around three o'clock in the afternoon to take the same number of men, and go back up the river to where they went in the morning to see if they could discover the Indians and where they were at work. But they were unable to find out anything; the Indians followed them as in the morning and fired upon them. The boats and the barge returned the fire without doing any damage because the Indians took refuge behind the fences. The boats and the barge returned to the Fort about six o'clock no better off than when they left.

Around ten o'clock in the evening the Ottawas came and fired some scattering shots at the Fort.

July 25. Monday.

The Ottawas were busy in the council which was to have been held the day before but had been put over to this day, and neglected the Fort to go to the house of the Delaware and Erie chiefs in the Huron village.

Two residents of the Fort, who had gone on business some time before to the northern neighborhoods and had been held by Pontiac, returned during the day and brought word that the building of the famous raft had been completely abandoned. This was due to the efforts of two Frenchmen who had told them that the boats would hinder



couvrir Leurs retraites ny Leurs travaux. Les Sauvages les conduisirent par terre jusque chez Mr. Chauvin à trente arpent du fort ou La barge Leurs envoya de canon a boulet qui Les fit fuire Sans en blessé aucun, mais le boulet entra dans leur maison et fit un grand dégât et blessa dangereusement deux Sauvages aux bras et à la Cuisse dont ce dernier en mourût quelques jours après.

Sur Les un heure après midy Les chefs Outaouais et Sauteux Se rendirent au village des hurons Suivant La demande du chefs chats et des Loups qui Les avaient fait avertir dès Le petit matin pour tenir Conseil.

Sur les trois heures après midy, Les deux bateaux et la berge avec La même quantité de monde retourna par ordre de Mr. Le Cdt. où ils avaient été Le matin voir S'ils les découvriraient, et le lieu de leur travail des Sauvages, ce qu'ils ne purent faire Les Sauvages tirèrent de Sur de terre et Les conduisirent comme Le matin. Les bateaux et La barque tirèrent dessus eux Sans pouvoir Leur faire aucun tord, parce que les Sauvages se retranchaient derrière Les Cloutures des terres. Les bateaux et la berge revenèrent au fort Sur Six heures du Soir Les Outaouais vinrent tiré Sur Le fort Sans dessein.

25e Juillet.—Le Lundy 25e Juillet.—Les Outaouais occupé du conseil qui devoient Se tenir le jour précédent et qui fut remis à ce jour oublièrent Le fort pour aller à la demeure des chefs chats et Loups au village des Hurons.

Deux domicilier du fort qui avaient été quelque temps auparavant dans les Costes du nord pour affaire et qui avaient été retenus par pondiak et revinrent ce jour, et rapportèrent que l'édifice de ce fameux cajeu avait été totalement abandonné par l'entremise de deux français qui leur dit que les bateaux empêcheraient le cajeu de couler la barque et qu'il y avaient des chaînes grippé avec deux ancrs

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<sup>111</sup>Jean Baptiste Chauvin lived on the north side of the river, east of the fort. In 1771 he was living on his farm at the Grand Marais. He was a laborer and married in 1767. His brother Charles was a blacksmith for the Hurons and the village of Detroit, and also lived east of the fort.

the raft from running down the sloop; and that there were grappling chains with two anchors to hold the vessel moored in the middle of the river, and that they were laboring in vain as they would never accomplish their purpose. This discouraged them so that they absolutely gave up their mad enterprise.

The rumor was circulated in the Fort about ten o'clock in the evening that Messrs. Jacques Godfroy and Mesmilchesne had returned<sup>112</sup> from the Illinois where they had been sent by Pontiac. The report was not substantiated till the next day.

July 26. Tuesday. St. Ann's Day.

Early in the morning it was learned that the messengers whom Pontiac, great chief of the nations of the north, had sent to Mr. DeLéon, commander of the Illinois country, had returned the night before. Growing out of this all sorts of rumors were circulated by the French in the Fort, but they had no foundation in fact and so died in their birth; the principal one was that the Illinois nations strongly recommended the Indian nations of Detroit not to do any harm to the French who lived in the surrounding coasts or to those in the Fort, unless they should espouse the cause of the English.

On this day a great council was again held in the Huron village among the Eries, Delawares, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies. At its conclusion Pontiac in his capacity of over-chief of all the nations of the north, wearing his war-belt, caught up the tomahawk of battle and began to chant a war-song against the English, at the same time inviting all the chiefs in the council to do likewise; he told them that the Master of Life had ordered him to make war upon the English and spare not, and the field must be swept clean for the coming of his Father in the autumn. Aroused by his example all the other chiefs and the Indians chanted the war-song in their turn till the end of the council.

According to the report of some Frenchmen of the

pour La faire resté au milieu de la rivière et qu'ils travaillaient inutilement qu'il ne viendrait jamais à bout de leurs desseins ce qui Les déconcerta jusqu'au point d'abandonner tout à fait Leurs folles entreprises.

Sur les dix heures du soir, il courû dans Le fort une nouvelle que Mr. Jacques Godfroy et mesnilchesne qui avaient été envoyé par pondiak au illinois étaient de retour, cette nouvelle ne fut confirmé que Le Lendemain.

26e Juillet.—Mardy 26e Juillet.—Jour de la feste de Ste. Anne, L'on Sçue dès Le petit matin que Les Couriers que pondiak, grand chef de toutes les nations du nord, avait envoyé vers Mr. De Léon, Cdt. des illinois, étaient de retour La veille au soir, a cette arrivé il fut débité par Les français du fort différente nouvelle, qui n'avait rien de vray et qui mourrait dans Leurs naissance, La principal était que les nations des illinois, recommandoient fort aux nations du Détroit de ne point faire de tord aux français qui habitaient Les costes ny à ceux qui étoient dans le fort, au moins qu'ils ne voulussent prendre Le parti des anglais.

Il y eut encore ce jour un grand Conseil chez Les hurons, entre eux Les chats et Les Loups, Les outaouais et les poux et à la fin du Conseil, pondiak par ses qualités de grand chef de toutes Les nations du nord, horné du colier de guerre pris La halte de guerre et La chanta contre les anglais en invitant tous les chefs qui étaient dans le Conseil de l'imiter, Leur disant que Le maître de la vie Luy avait dit de faire La guerre aux anglais Sans Les épargné et qu'il fallait que La place fut nette pour quand Son père viendrait cette automne, tous Les autres chefs à Son exemple avec Les Sauvages chantèrent tous la guerre tour à tour et à la fin du conseil Suivant Le rapport de quelque français de la coste qui S'y était trouvé Le chef des chats

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<sup>112</sup>They returned bringing letters for the French habitants and messages to Pontiac. Mr. Navarre sent some of the letters to the fort. Godfroy told Pontiac that the commandant in the Illinois country could not send him any help as he had heard that peace had been declared, but as soon as his couriers arrived, whom he had sent to New Orleans, if he found the news to be false, he would see what he could do. He desired the French to keep quiet. *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, pp. 51 and 53.

region who were present the Erie chief said: "My brothers, remember that the French are our brothers and that they must not be harmed because our Father could reproach us for it unless they should take up the interests of the English."

July 27. Wednesday.

The Indians spent all this day chanting the war-song,—each nation in their own village led by their chief; and they took new measures to insure the capture of the Fort, but all their plans amounted to nothing.

Around two o'clock in the afternoon André Huson<sup>113</sup> de Lorette, whom the English had suspected of being concerned in the uprisings of the Indians and even of being ringleader, came into the Fort to vindicate himself and prove his innocence.

About six o'clock some one came and reported to the English that the savages intended to set fire to the two portable bastions which were situated in the rear of the Fort on the slope and in which four sentinels were posted each day.

July 29. Friday<sup>114</sup>.

All night a fog so dense that one could not see a step in front of him. Toward daylight it thinned a little, and about five o'clock, an hour when one was least expecting it, a great number of barges were seen coming into sight on the river to the right of the River Rouge. The Fort was at once on the alert, thinking it was some Indian parties coming to join the ones here. The English did not suspect it was relief for them although they were expecting some, and to assure themselves as to what it might be a cannon shot was fired on the southeast side. A cannon shot came in response, for these barges had four little cannons mounted as swivels in the bow, and there were in addition two small mortar six-pounders.

<sup>113</sup>Huron.

<sup>114</sup>Mr. Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, who translated this manuscript in 1885, recorded on July 28th: "The Indians did not move this day. [The commander asked] the settlers to come into the fort and not go to the shores." *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., Vol. VIII, p. 337*. This portion of the MMS. is almost entirely gone.

dit mes frères Souvenez vous que les français sont nos frères et qu'il faut prendre garde de ne point Leur faire de mal parce que nostre père nous Le reprocheraient, à moins qu'ils ne veulent prendre les intérêts des anglais.

27<sup>e</sup> Juillet.—Le mercredi 27<sup>e</sup> Juillet.—Les Sauvages employèrent encore cette journée pour chanter La guerre, chaque nation La chanta dans son village Leurs chef à Leurs têtes et prirent de nouvelles mesures pour réussir à prendre Le fort mais toute Leurs dimention et rien fut tout de même.

Sur Les deux heures après midy, André Huson de Lorette, qui avait été Soupçonné par ces Mrs. d'estre complices dans les revolutions des Sauvages et même d'y avoir La première main entra dans le fort pour se justifier et prouvé Son innocence.

Sur Les Six heures L'on vint dire à ces Mrs. que Les Sauvages voullaient mettre Le feu aux deux cavaliers qui étaient derrière Le fort Sur Le coteaux Lesquels ont mettaient journellement quatre factionnaires dans chaque.

28<sup>e</sup> Juillet.—Jedy 28<sup>e</sup> Juillet.—Les Sauvages restèrent tranquille tous cette journée. Mr. Le Cdt. demanda aux habitans de venir au fort et fit défense de ne point aller à la Coste. Sous prétexte de n'estre point découvert dans leur retraite les Sauvages formaient le projet de vouloir prendre Le fort d'assaut.

29<sup>e</sup> Juillet.—Vendredy 29<sup>e</sup> Juillet.—Toute la nuit un Brouillard Sy epais que L'on ne voyait pas un pas devant Soy Sur le jour il diminua un peu, Sur les cinq heures du matin à l'heure que L'on y pensait Lemoins L'on vit paraistre Sur La rivière au droit de la rivière rouge un grand nombre de berges, ce qui donna une espèce d'allerte dans le fort, croyant que c'était quelques parties Sauvages qui venaient Se joindre à ceux d'icy, Ses Mrs. ne Sçavaient pas que c'était du Secours qui Leurs venaient Bien que cependant ils en attendaient: mais pour S'assurer de ce que pouvait estre il firent tiré un coup de canon du costé du Sorais il Leur fut repondue par un autre coup de canon,

When the shot was heard the Commandant, followed by Mr. Hopkins and two other officers, embarked with ten soldiers in one of the boats that I have spoken of before, and went out to meet the barges and see what they were. There were twenty-two of them with two hundred eighty troops and six cannons, and an aide-de-camp<sup>115</sup> of General Amherst was in command.

As the barges passed between the Huron and Pottawatamy villages which were opposite each other, they were saluted by volleys from the two nations which dangerously wounded fifteen men in the body, two of whom died, and some others only slightly in the arms and hands. From Niagara to the Fort here the barges had been guided by Mr. Lasel, a trader of Montreal who had interests in this post.

As there were not barracks enough to lodge all the troops, an order was issued that some should be quartered till further orders on private citizens, according to the accommodations of each one, and this was carried out promptly.

In passing by the way of Sandusky the troops terrified some of the Indians who were living on the outskirts of the village there. At sight of so many men the savages took fright and abandoned their cabins which were pillaged and burned by the soldiers, and their cornfields devastated.

After the arrival of the troops a rumor was circulated in the Fort that still more forces to the number of four hundred men were coming by the northern route to join the English; but it was not true.

July 30. Saturday.

The Commandant ordered that a part of the canoes which had been lying on the edge of the strand in front of the Fort since the beginning of hostilities should be repaired to be ready for use in case they were wanted.

<sup>115</sup>James Dalzell (or Dalzell), Amherst's aide-de-camp, had been appointed lieutenant in the 60th or Royal Americans early in 1756, and in 1760 obtained a company in the 2nd Battalion of the Royals or 1st Regiment of Foot. He was killed at the battle on the bridge over Parent Creek described at the end of this manuscript. *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, p. 54.

parceque ces berges avaient quatre petit canon monté en barbet ou vid millet Sur la pièce de devant avec deux petits mortier de six, à cette reponse Mr. Le Cdt. Suivi de Mr. hobquince et de deux officiers avec dix Soldats embarquèrent dans un des bateaux dont Jay cy dessus parlé et furent au devant de ses berges pour Les reconnaître qui étaient au nombre de vingt deux dans Lesquelles étaient deux cents quatre vingt hommes de troupe réglé, Six canonniers à la teste desquel était un aide de camp de Mr. Le général Amars, ces berges en passant devant Les villages des hurons et des paux qui Se regardaient, ils furent Salué de quelque décharge de coups de fusil de la part de ses deux nations qui en blessèrent quinze dans Le corps dangereusement, dont deux en moururent, et d'autres aux bras et aux mains, mais Légèrement, ces berges depuis Niagara Jusque icy dans Lefort furent guidé par Mr. La Sel, commerçant de Montreal qui avaient des interest dans ce poste.

Comme il n'y avait point de cazerne pour Logé toute cette troupe il fut ordonné que chaque particulier en Logeraient Jusque à nouvelle ordre chaqu'un suivant Le Logement qu'il occupait, ce qui fut Exécuté ponctuellement. Cette troupe en passant par Sandosqué donna L'épouvante à quelque Sauvage qui étaient cabané aux environs du village, Ses Sauvages voyant tant de monde eurent peur et abandonnèrent Leurs cabane qui fut pillé par Les Soldats et Leurs cabanes brulé et Leurs bled arraché.

A cette arrivée il couru un bruit dans Le fort qu'il venait encore des forces à ces messieurs par le nord au nombre de quatre cent hommes ce qui ne fut point.

30e Juillet.—Le Samedi 30e Juillet.—Mr. Le Cdt. ordonna qu'une partie des canots de course qui étaient Sur Le bord de la grève devant Lefort depuis Le Commencement de cette Evenement fussent racommodé pour Servir

In the evening all the troops assembled on the parade-grounds for instruction as was customary, and all the officers, the old as well as the new-comers, were there. It was decided to make a sortie in the course of the coming night with three hundred and some odd men, at the head of whom should be the aide-de-camp who had commanded the troops just arrived, and proceed straight to Pontiac's camp in order to bring him and the savages to account and compel them to make peace. Sabres and ammunition were distributed to the whole troop, which was ordered to be ready at the first call in the coming night.

At two o'clock of this same day the Hurons who had got wind that some sortie was about to be tried made a pretense of abandoning their village. At Point Montreal in full sight of the Fort they burned some old canoes and rubbish which was worthless to them, and embarked bag and baggage, even the dogs, and departed down the river as if headed for their winter camp. Several of the French believed this, too, and some one went and told the English who put credence in the departure without wishing, however, to run the risk of going to the village, fearful of some trick on the part of the Indians. And trick it was, because the Hurons dropped down the river beyond sight of the houses, landed in the woods and concealed their women and children and goods, then came back through the forest to the right of the village and took a position where they could ambush the English in case they came to the village, as had been rumored.

It was a false report, nevertheless the Hurons remained in ambush on the lookout two days, after which they came back to their village just as they had departed.

July 31. Sunday.

About two in the morning, following the orders of the aide-de-camp, all the troops selected for the expedition were ready to set out in light marching order, stripped to their jackets and carrying their accoutrements and their arms. As soon as they left the Fort they turned in the



au besoin que L'on en aurait. Le Soir, Suivant La Coutume toute Se trouva Sur La place d'arme pour L'instruction à tous Les officiers tant anciens que nouveaux Se trouvèrent, il fut décide que Dans La nuit Suivante il serait fait une Sortie de trois cents et quelque homme à la teste desquels devait estre Mr. L'aide de Camp, Cdt. des nouveaux arrivé et à la première devaient allés au camp de pondiak pour lui parler ainsi qu'aux Sauvages et Les Contraindre à faire une paix, Sabres et La monition fut distribué à toute la troupe et il fut ordonné de se tenir prêt pour le premier appel qui devait être La nuit suivante.

Ce mesme jour à deux heures Les hurons qui avaient eut vent de quelque chose devaient faire une sortie, firent frime d'abandonner Leurs villages et Brulèrent à La pointe Montréal à la vue du fort des vieux Canots et mauvais effet qui leurs étaient inutile et embarquèrent femme et enfant Jusque au chien et descendirent comme S'ils eussent voulu aller en hyvernement, plusieurs français Le crurent aussi dont il y eut quelqu'un qui Le vint dire à Ses Mrs. qui donnèrent dans ce départ, Sans cependant vouloir S'azarder d'aller au village Se méfiant de quelque ruse de la part des sauvages, ce qui était aussi parce que Les hurons avaient descendue Le long de la rivière hors de la vue des habitations et avaient débarqué dans le bois mettant Leurs femmes et Leurs enfants et Leurs butins en cachia et étaient venus par dans Le bois audroit du village S'embusqué en cas que Mrs. Les anglais fussent à leurs villages Comme ont Leurs avaient dit, ce qui ne fut point, néanmoins Les hurons restèrent dans Leurs embuscades deux jours à guetter au bout desquels ils revinrent à leurs villages Comme ils en avait partis.

31e Juillet.—Dimanche 31e Juillet.—Sur Les deux heures du matin Suivant Les ordres de Mr. Laide de camp tous Le monde nomée pour Le détachement fut prest à partir à la Legère n'ayant Sur eux que leur veste et Leur fauvriement et arme, en partant du fort tournèrent Leurs pas

direction of Pontiac's camp which was at that time about two miles and a half north of the Fort at a place called Cardinal Point<sup>116</sup>.

Unfortunately the English had imparted their plans to some French inside the Fort who had repeated them in confidence to some of the French on the outside, and through these confidences the savages learned of it. They were on their guard; in order not to be surprised they concealed their women and children away from the camp, leaving in it only their old men. Then, as they knew the hour when the troops departed from the fort, they went to meet them in two bands,—one of two hundred fifty going through the woods along the edge of the fields and forming an ambuscade on the farm of Mr. Chauvin, two-thirds of a mile from the Fort; the other band of one hundred sixty men took up a position in ambush at the home of Baptiste Meloche, where their camp had been earlier and where they had thrown up intrenchments which were even bullet proof. Here they awaited the English who did not think the Indians had been warned of their design.

The troops came on at a rapid march, and in no order, as far as the bridge<sup>117</sup> at Baptiste Meloche's. The Indians could see them at some distance, for the moon was in their favor lighting up the road the English were taking. Sixty Indians went and occupied Meloche's garden, getting behind the picket fence which faced the bridge. When the savages saw that the head of the detachment had passed a little beyond the middle of the bridge, the sixty poured in a volley which surprised the English<sup>118</sup> who, without changing their marching order . . . . .

Here the manuscript ends abruptly. The remainder of the journal is missing.

<sup>116</sup>Jacques Cardinal and his family lived on a farm at the Grand Marais which may have been the location of Pontiac's camp.

<sup>117</sup>On this bridge the British were defeated, losing Capt. Dalzell, their leader, Capt. Gray, Lieut. Luke, killed and Lieut Brown of the 35th, wounded. One sergeant and thirteen rank and file were killed, one drummer and twenty-five men

vers Le camp de pondiak qui étaient pour Lors à une Lieu du fort du costé du nord dans un Endroit que L'on nomme La pointe à Cardinal. Ces Mrs. avaient malheureusement fait confidence de leurs desseins à quelque françois dedans Le fort qui L'avaient aussi par confidence repeté à des françois du dehors et par ces confidences Les Sauvages Le Surent, ils Se tinrent Sur leurs gardes et pour n'estre pas Surpris il mirent Leurs femmes et enfants en cache hors du camp et ne Laissèrent à Leurs camp que Les vieillards et sçachant l'heure du départ de ces Mrs. du fort, vinrent en deux bandes au devant deux, une bande de deux cent 50 vint pardans le bois, Le long des terres et S'embarquèrent sur La terre à Mr. Chauvin qui est à vingt arpens du fort, L'autre bande de cent soixante hommes vint S'embusqué chez Mr. baptiste meloche ou était cy devant Leurs camps où il avait fait des retranchements à L'épreuve mesme du boulet et attendèrent ses Mrs. qui ne croyaient pas que Les Sauvages étaient prevenus de Leurs desseins avançant à grand pas et Sans ordre et furent de cette manière jusque Sur Le pont de Mr. Baptiste Meloche, Les Sauvages Les apperçurent de Loing, La Lune les favorisait beaucoup et voyant La route que Ses Mrs. prenaient il y en eut une soixante qui furent Se mettre dans Le jardin de Mr. Baptiste Meloche, derrière Les pieux qui faisait face au pont quand Les Sauvages virent que a la teste du détachement était dépassé un peu Le milieu du pont, Les Soixante firent Leurs décharge, ce qui Surpris Ses Mrs. qui sans faire aucune manoeuvre.

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wounded. Of the 60th Regiment, one private was killed and seven were wounded. Of the 80th Regiment, three were wounded and two killed. Of the Royal American Rangers, two were killed and one wounded. A trader's servant was wounded. The Indians reported that they lost five killed and eleven wounded. The creek over which the bridge lay was called Parent Creek, but was afterwards known as Bloody Run. It was about a mile and a half from the fort and has now almost entirely disappeared, only a small part of it in Elmwood Cemetery is preserved. The lower part is filled up and the Michigan Stove Works have built upon it.

<sup>115</sup>Here the manuscript comes to an abrupt close and no copyist has ever discovered any additional pages. There are many documents and letters which give the sequel to the story but not in the quaint and familiar style of this narrator.



















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